



RAJPUTANA AND AJMER- MERWARA.

List No. 32.

Corrected up to 30th June, 1937.



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N.B.—All communications regarding errors or omissions which may be discovered in the List should be addressed to the Secretary to the Hon'ble Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, Mount Abu. In the case of references concerning Indian States, such communications should be forwarded through the Political Officers concerned.

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RAJPUTANA AND AJMER-MERWARA.

List No. 32.

(Corrected up to 30th June 1937.)

PART I

States and Chiefships with their Principal Officials.

ALWAR

Ruler—

Area, 3,168 sq miles Population, 749,751 Revenue, Rs 37,00,000

1 —Ministers.

Prime Minister	. . . .	Major C G Prior, C I E
Advisory Minister	. . . .	Rao Bahadur Raja Durjan Singh.
Revenue Minister	. . . .	L Ram Lal Anand, P C S
Home Minister	. . . .	Th Bahdur Singh of Khara
Army Minister	. . . .	Lt Colonel Dhabai Ganesh Lal, C I I
		Mantra Pravin
Minister for Health and Education		Th Sultan Singh of Palwa

2 —High Court

Chief Justices	. . . .	{ Rai Bahadur Sardar Lehna Singh
		{ M B E
		{ Pt Ram Bhadra Ojha, M A, LL B.
Registrar	. . . .	L Durga Prasad, M A, LL B

Departmental Officers.

3.—Prime Minister's Branch.

Secretary to Prime Minister	. . . .	Ch M Siddiq
Inspector General of Police	. . . .	Khan Bahadur Ruhullah Khan
Accountant-General	. . . .	L Chhail Behari Lal.
Superintendent, Zenana Hospital	. . . .	Dr E Pfeil
Directress of Female Education	. . . .	Miss P. K Jhanda Singh.
State Engineer	. . . .	Major A G Wheeler
Treasury Officer	. . . .	Rai Sahib L Madan Lal, B A.
State Geologist	. . . .	B Sri Kumar Roy, M Sc., B L
Superintendent, Gardens	. . . .	Pt Chain Narayan Shivapuri.
Superintendent, Government Offices	. . . .	L Shivraj Behari Lal.

PART I—*contd.*

ALWAR—*contd.*

4.—Health and Education Branch.

State Surgeon	Captain M. S. Katre, M.R.C.S.N. R.C.P. D. O. M. S., M.B.B.S.
Principal, Raj Rishi College	Mr. S. P. Bhargava.
Director of Secondary and Primary Education.	Rai Sahib Pt. K. K. L. Nanawati.
Customs & Excise Commissioner	L. Babu Pershad.
Superintendent, Central Jail	Col. Mushraf Khan.
Hakim, Punnya & Muafiyat	Pt. Mahesh Chandra Joshi.
Hakim, Jagir	Pt. Mahesh Chandra Joshi.

5.—Revenue Branch.

District Officer, Alwar	Kanwar Raghubir Singh, B. A.
„ „ Rajgarh	Pt. Anand Narain Kaul, B.Sc., LL.B.
Inspector General of Forests	Mr. S. M. Seth, D. D. R.
Agricultural Officer	L. Lakshman Swarup, B.Sc.
Registrar, Co-operative Societies	L. Ram Lal Anand, P. C. S.

6.—Judicial Branch.

District and Sessions Judge	Pt. Rameshwar Nath, M.A., LL.B.
Magistrate 1st Class, Alwar	R. S. Lala Madan Lal, B.A.
Small Causes Court Judge	L. Durga Prasad, M.A., LL.B.
Public Prosecutor	Sardar Narottam Singh.
Superintendent, Central Records	L. Ram Nath Luther, M.A.

7.—Army Branch.

Senapati	Col. Abdul Rehman Khan, O.B.I.
Controller of Palaces	Th. Mahadev Singh.
Director, Veterinary Services	Sardar Sahib Bishan Singh, G.P.V.C.
Hakim, Akhet	Dhabai Ram Pratap.
Munsarim, Guest House	Capt. Ram Singh.
Munsarim, Garage	Mr. Sachidanand Chatterjee.

8.—Military Staff.

Officer Commanding, Mangal Lancers	Capt. Vikram Singh.
„ „ Jey Paltan	Lt.-Col. Sansar Chand.
„ „ Pratap Paltan	Major Madho Singh.
„ „ Garrison Force	Th. Sher Singh.
Military Station Hospital	Captain K. L. Jetley, M.B., B.S.
Military Veterinary Hospital	Jamadar Mohd. Suleman Khan.

PART I—contd.

BANSWARA.

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS RAI-RAYAN MAHARAWAL SHRI SIR PIETHI SINGHJI
BAHADUR, K C I E

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ RAJ KUMAR SHRI CHANDRA VEER SINGHJI

Second Son—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI NARPAT SINGHJI

GRANDSON BORN ON THE 24TH DECEMBER 1936

Area, 1,606 sq miles Population, 2,25,106 Revenue, Rs 6 24 891

Private Secretary to His Highness . Mr Fauj Mall Kothari

A D Cs to His Highness

{ Thakur Lachman Singh of Odwara
{ Mr Parbat Singh
{ Mr Balwant Singh

Physician in attendance on His Highness Dr N C Mukerjee

Tutor & Guardian to Maharaj Kumar Mr Charu Chandra Chatterjee, B A,
Sahib LL B

Mir Munshi, Izlas Alia . . . Mr Tej Karan Kothari

State Council

President . . . Dr Mohan Sinha Mehta, Ph D, M A, LL B
Bar at Law (Diwan)

Senior Member . . . Maharaj Raj Kumar Sahib Shri Chandra
Veer Singhji

Members . . . Maharaj Kishore Singhji of Daulatpura

Thakur S rdar Singhji of Ganora

Private Secretary to His Highness—*Ex-*
officio (Mr Fauj Mal Kothari)

Legislative Council.

President . . . Dr Mohan Sinha Mehta, Ph D, M A.
LL B, Bar at Law, (Diwan)

Senior Member . . . Maharaj Raj Kumar Sahib Shri Chandra-
Veer Singhji

Members . . . { Maharaj Kishore Singhji of Daulatpura
{ Thakur Sardar Singhji of Ganora
{ Private Secretary to His Highness—*Ex-*
{ *officio* (Mr Fauj Mal Kothari)

Principal Officers.

Diwan . . . Dr Mohan Sinha Mehta, Ph D, M A, LL B
Bar at Law

Chief Revenue Officer . . . Pt Shyam Lal Nagar (Actg)

Superintendent Customs . . . Maharaj Gulab Singhji

Vice

Mr Ochhav Lal Surajram Trivedi B A, LL B

Mr Inder sen Jain, B A, B T, LL B.

Accountant

Civil Judge and Supdt Printing Press Mr Tej Karan Kothari

Chief Medical Officer . . .

Superintendent Police . . . Pt Ratan Lal Purohit

Head Master . . . Mr Mohan Lal Nagar, B A, B T, LL B

State Engineer P W D . . . Munshi Abbay Khan

Electrical Engineer and Secretary . . .

Municipal Committee . . . Mr Bhagwati Lal Kothari

Distillery Inspector . . . Mr Chhagan Lal Kotia

PART I—*contd.*

BHARATPUR.

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SRI BRIJENDRA SAWAI BRIJENDRA SINGH
BAHADUR, BAHAUDUR JANG (MINOR).

Area, 1,972 sq. miles. Population, 486,954. Revenue, Rs. 34,03,000.

Brothers { 1. Rao Raja Sri Girendra Raj Singhji.
2. Rao Raja Sri Edward Man Singhji.
3. Rao Raja Sri Girraj Saran Singhji.

1.—Council of State.

President	Major C. P. Hancock, O.B.E., M.C., I.A.
Revenue Member	Rai Sahib R. L. Batra, B.A., LL.B., P.C.S.
Home Member	Colonel Faujdar Sampat Singh.
General Member	Lt.-Colonel Chaudhri Ghamandi Singh.
Judicial Member	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abdul Halim, B.A., LL.B.

Secretaries.

Chief Engineer and Secretary in P. W. D. Mr. W. D. McD. Cruickshank, O.B.E.,
Assoc. M. Inst. C.E.

Accountant General	} Mr. N. D. Chhokra.
Financial Secretary	
Secretary to President	
Secretary to Council of State	
	} Mr. R. C. Bhatnagar, I.S.O.

2.—Revenue Department.

Deputy Collector, Bharatpur	.	.	L. Kundan Lal.
" " Dig	.	.	Rai Sahib Pandit Moti Ram.
Special Officer, Land Colonization	.	.	Pt. Shiam Lal.

3.—Judicial Department.

District and Sessions Judge	Mr. Kanwar Bahadur, B.A., LL.B.
Nazim, Bayana	Ch. Ratnakar Shastri, B.A., LL.B.
Nazim, Dig	B. Shiam Lal, M.A., LL.B.
Nazim, Bharatpur	M. Abdul Hamid, B.A., LL.B.
Munsif, Bharatpur	Mr. Rajjan Lal Srivastava, B.Sc., LL.B.
Munsif, Dig	L. Jagannath Prasad Arora, B.Sc., LL.B.
Munsif, Bayana	Syed Hyder Ali Rizvi, B.Sc., LL.B.

4.—Principal Officers.

(a) **Public Works Department.**

Chief Engineer and Secretary in P.W.D.	Mr. W. D. McD. Cruickshank, O.B.E., Assoc. M. Inst. C.E.
Supervisor, P. W. D.	B. Raghubir Sahai.
Electrical Engineer	L. Chirinjilal.
Telephone Engineer and Garage Supdt.	B. Chandrama Pershad Srivastava.
Superintendent, Quarries	Pt. Girdhar Lal.

PART I—contd.

BHARATPUR—contd

1—Principal Officers—contd

(b) Medical Department.

Chief Medical Officer	Captain Maha Nand Sardana M B, B S L R C P, M R C S D T M, D O M S F R F P S, A I R O
Raj Vaid	Bhatt Shyam Lal
Lady Doctor	Miss C V Mariamma Verghese, M B B S

(c) Police Department.

Superintendent of Police	Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ikramul Haq
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(d) Miscellaneous.

Tutor and Guardian to H H the Maha- raja Sahib Bahadur	Captain A G S Alexander
Assistant Tutor and Guardian to H H the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur	Captain Ch. Govind Singh
Director of Public Instruction	Raj Sahib Jugal Behari M A.
Superintendent Customs and Excise	Lt Sifarish Hussain
Officer Kothi Khas and Entertainment	Thakur Mewa Ram.

(e) Army.

Commandant, Bharatpur State Forces and Officer Commanding, Jaswant House- hold Infantry	Lt. Colone' Piara Singh, Bahadur, O B I
Officer Commanding Jaswant Garrison Company	Captain Balwant Singh
Officer Commanding Bharatpur Body Guard.	Captain Amar Singh (on deputation from the Jaswant Household Infantry)

(f) Co-operative Department

Manager, Shri Krishna Bank and Deputy Registrar, Co operative Societies	S Lachman Singh
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(g) Agricultural Department

Agricultural Officer	Mr G G Phadke
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(h) Finance Department.

Accountant General	Mr N D Chhokra.
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BIKANER.

Ruler—LIEUTENANT GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJADHIRAJA RAJ RAJESHWAR
SHREOMANI MAHARAJA SHRI GANGA SINGHJI BAHADUR, G C S I,
G C L E, G C V O, G B E, K C B A D C, L L D, MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.

Heir-Apparent—CAPTAIN MAHARAJ KULJAR SHRI SADUL SINGHJI BAHADUR,
C V O

Grandson—BHANWAR SHRI KARNI SINGHJI BAHADUR.

Second Grandson—BHANWAR SHRI AMAR SINGHJI BAHADUR

Area 23,317 sq miles Population 2,62,218 Revenue Rs 1,26,54,227

Personal Aides de Camp

Captain Maharaj Kumar Shri Sadul Singhji Bahadur, C V O, Heir Apparent—
Honorary Colonel, Sadul Light Infantry
Colonel Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairum Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I. (Sadul Light
Infantry)
Major Maharaj Sri Mandhata Singhji Bahadur (Ganja Risala)

PART I—contd.

BIKANER—contd.

1.—Personal Staff.

Major-General Rao Bahadur Thakur Master of Ceremonies.

Hari Singhji of Sattasar, C.I.E.,
O.B.E.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Daulat Singhji Master of the Household,
of Kumbhana.

Kanwar Jaswant Singh, B.A., of Daudsar Private Secretary to His Highness.

Major Rao Bahadur Thakur Jeoraj Singhji of Sarothia. Military Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja.

Lt.-Col. Thakur Asu Singhji of Rampura	}	A.-D.-Cs.
Major Thakur Bharat Singh of Rora		
Captain Thakur Asu Singh of Bisrasar.		
Captain Kanwar Jaswant Singh of Bagseu.		
Captain Thakur Madho Singh		

Captain Bhanwar Narain Singh	}	
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2.—Household Department.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Bhursinghji of Surnana. Comptroller of the Household.

Rao Sahib Thakur Shivdan Singh Deputy Comptroller of the Household,
A. Branch.

Kanwar Kishan Singh Deputy Comptroller of the Household,
B. Branch.

Babu Jugalbehari Lal Accounts officer.

3.—State Administration.

Mr. V. N. Mehta, B.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S. Prime Minister.

Colonel Rao Bahadur Thakur Sir Sadul Singhji of Bagseu, Kt., C.I.E. Vice President of Executive Council and Public Works Minister.

Major-General Rao Bahadur Thakur Hari Singhji of Sattasar, C.I.E., O.B.E. Army Minister.

Major Maharaj Sri Mandhata Singhji Bahadur. Revenue and Finance Minister.

Mian Ahsanul Haq, B.A., Bar-at-Law. Minister-in-charge, Legislative Department.

Mr. L. P. Lajoie, M.B.E. Additional Revenue Minister.

Rai Bahadur Lala Jai Gopal Puri, C.I.E. Colonisation Minister, Bikaner State, Ganganagar.

4.—Secretaries to Government.

Rai Sahib Autar Krishna Kaul B.A., Secretary to His Highness' Government in the Foreign and Political Department.

Dr. M. N. Aggarwala, D.Sc. (France), M.Sc., M.A., LL.B. Secretary to His Highness Government in the Legislative Department.

Kanwar Jaswant Singh, B.A., of Daudsar. Joint Secretary to His Highness' Government in the Foreign and Political Department.

M. M. Sapat Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Parbat Rai C. Joshipara, B.A. Personal Assistant to the Public Works Minister.

Pradip Ashukaran Goswami, M.A. Personal Assistant to the Colonization Minister.

PART I—*contd.*

BIKANER—*contd.*

4.—Secretaries to Government—*contd.*

Pandit Sujan Mal Purohit . . .	Confidential Assistant to Revenue and Home Minister
B Monohar Lall, B A , LL B . . .	Personal Assistant to Revenue and Home Minister
Dr Kanwar Devi Singh, Dr (Ecom), B A . . .	Personal Assistant to the Finance Minister.
Pt V L Purohit B A . . .	Personal Assistant to the Army Minister.

5 —Principal Officers.

(a) HIGH COURT

Mian Ahsanul Haq, B A , Bar at-Law . . .	Chief Justice
Rai Bahadur Mr D. M Nanavati, B A , LL F . . .	Judge
Rai Bahadur Babu Aprakash Chandra Bose, M A , LL B . . .	Judge

(b) POLICE DEPARTMENT

Mr G. T H Harding, C I E , I P . . .	Special Officer, Home Department
Lt-Col Rao Bahadur Ravi Gulab Singhji of Rajasar . . .	Inspector General of Police
Rai Sahib Lala Jawaharlal . . .	Deputy Inspector General of Police.

(c) PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

Mr R H T Mackenzie, A M I C E . . .	Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads.
Mr S C Cook . . .	Electrical and Mechanical Engineer and Automobile Engineer
Mr W C Dooris . . .	Boring Engineer.

Irrigation Department

Mr T A W Foy, I S E . . .	Chief Engineer, Irrigation
Rai Sahib Labhu Ram Kalsy . . .	Executive Engineer, South Division
Mr R F T Farrant (on leave) . . .	Executive Engineer, North Division
Mr Chandan Singh Kang . . .	Offg Executive Engineer, North Division
Lala Hiralal . . .	Sub Divisional Officer Kesringhpur
Mr Narindra Nath Bakshi . . .	Sub Divisional Officer Padampur
Mr Mul Raj Puri . . .	Sub Divisional Officer Ganganagar
Mr Pvaro Lal Pahwa . . .	Sub-Divisional Officer, Sardargarh
Mr Narindra Singh Sandhawalla . . .	Sub Divisional Officer, Main Line Sub-Division

Bikaner State Railway.

Mr J Fearfield C I E , B A (Cantab) . . .	Manager
M Inst , C E . . .	
Mr J A ff Powell, M I E . . .	Engineer in Chief
Mr S T St John Parry, B A (Cantab) . . .	Personal Assistant to the Manager.
A M I , Loco E . . .	
Mr L Rigg, A M I , Loco E . . .	Loco, Carriage and Wagon Superintendent
Mr R C Manocha, B A . . .	Auditor
Mr P. R. Brown, B Sc (Sydney) . . .	Traffic Superintendent
Mr S H Sadarangani . . .	Assistant Engineer
Mr P G Rodriguez . . .	Assistant Engineer
Mr F. J. Brooks . . .	Workshop Manager

PART I—*concl.*BIKANER—*concl.*5.—Principal Officers—*concl.*Bikaner State Railway—*concl.*

Mr. J. N. Gupta	Assistant Loco. and Carriage Superintendent.
Mr. Mangal Pershad	Hony. Assistant Traffic Superintendent.
Mr. Mahesh Prasad	Assistant Construction Engineer.
Mr. Kishori Lal, B.A.	Superintendent of Stores.
Mr. K. V. Ramchandani, B.A.	Personal Assistant to the Auditor.

(d) ARMY DEPARTMENT.

Major General Rao Bahadur Thakur Hari Singhji of Sattasar, C.I.E., O.B.E.	General Officer Commanding, State Forces.
Colonel Jaideo Singh Sardar Bahadur O.B.I.	Chief of the Staff, Bikaner State Forces. and Officer Commanding Bijey Battery.
Lt.-Colonel Rajvi Sohan Singhji	Officer Commanding, Dungar Lancers.
Rao Bahadur Col. Thakur Balu Singh, Sardar Bahadur, O.B.I., I.D.S.M.	Officer Commanding, Ganga Risala.
Lt.-Col. Jawahir Singh Bahadur O.B.I.	Offg. Office Commanding, Sadul Light Infantry.

(e) REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Vacant	Revenue Commissioner, Ganganagar Division.
Lala Inder Bhan, B.A.	Assistant Revenue Commissioner, and District Magistrate, Ganganagar.
Kanwar Prem Singh, B.A.	Revenue Commissioner, and District Magistrate, Sadar Division.

(f) CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

Vacant	Inspector-General of Customs and Excise
Kochar Shiv Baksh	Assistant Inspector-General of Customs and Excise.

(g) MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. A. F. Lasrado, F.R.C.S. (England).	Offg. Principal Medical Officer and Inspector-General of Prisons.
Mrs. N. Shivakamu, M.B., B.S., M.R.C.P., L.M.	Principal Zenana Medical Officer.

(h) EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Mr. B. A. English, B.A. (Cantab.)	Director of Education.
Mr. P. M. Desai, B.A. (Bom.), A.M. (Columbia.)	Assistant Director of Education.

(i) FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Rai Bahadur Lala Nihal Chand Sarwal.	Accountant General.
Pt. Chhatar Singh	Treasury Officer.

(j) COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

Ing. C. D. Pandey, Department Ingg.	Manager, Palana Colliery.
Bug. Ing. (Berlin) M.E.	

(k) OTHER OFFICERS.

ehta Budh Singh Baid	Officer, Devasthan.
hta Lun Karan	Officer, Bada-karkhana (Fort).

PART I—contd.

BUNDI

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAO RAJA SIR ISHWARI SINGH BAHADUR, G C I E

Heir Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI BAHADUR SINGH

Area 2,220 sq miles Population, 2,16,722 Revenue, Rs 13,24,153 Hal and Rs. 4,86,266
Kaldar (British coin)

Personal Staff

Private Secretary to His Highness B Sohanlal Jhamaria
A - D - Cs to His Highness { Maharaj Gaj Singh
Kanwar Baijnath Singh

State Council.

Dewan & Finance Member Mr A W Robertson, D F C I P
Judicial Member Pandit Deoki Nandan Chaturvedi, B A.,
LL B
Revenue Member Thakur Mahendra Sinha Ranawat.
Home Member Kanwar Sheo Nath Singh
Member (without portfolio) Munshi Khadim Hussain
Secretary, State Council Babu Kedar Mal Kabra
Superintendent, Mahakma Khas Lala Gehari Lal Arora

Judiciary.

Judge, High Court Pandit Deokmandan Chaturvedi, B A ,
LL B
District and Sessions Judge Pandit Jagmohan Nath Tikku, B A.,
LL B
District Magistrate & Civil Judge Pandit Durga Shanker Dave B A , LL B.
Small Causes Court Judge & Munsiff Pt Bhanwar Lal Sanadhya

Revenue & Settlement

Revenue Commissioner & Settlement Officer Thakur Mahendra Sinha Ranawat
Assistant Revenue Commissioner Lala Piarey Lal
Deputy Commissioner, Nainwa Pandit Ram Dutt M A , LL B
Deputy Commissioner, Patan Pandit Ram Niwas Hawa B A , LL B
Deputy Commissioner, Deopura Pandit Bhagwat Dutt, B A , LL B
Assistant Settlement Officers { K Raghubir Singh, B A
M Altaf Hussain Khan

Military

Inspector General of Military Choudhry Washeshwar Nath Dutta
Military Assistants { 1 Captain Maharaj Udai Singh
2 Captain Bhanwar Bishwa Nath Singh
3 Lieut K Ganpat Singh

Finance

Accountant General Pandit Mukat Behari Lal
Assistant Accountant General Pandit Ram Swaroop

Police

Inspector General of Police Choudhry Washeshwar Nath Dutta
Superintendents of Police { 1 Pandit Bhawanand Mehta
2 Sardar Naranjan Singh
3 B Taxmi Prashad

PART I—contd.**BUNDI—contd.****Public Works Department.**

Executive Engineer Mr. M. L. Sabherwal, M.A., B.Sc.

Medical.

Chief Medical Officer Rai Sahib Dr. D. N. Ahluwalia, M.B.
 Assistant Medical Officer Dr. Hiralal.
 Lady Doctor Dr. Mrs. Srirangamma.

Forest, Customs & Excise.

Superintendent of Forests, Customs and Excise. Thakur Mahipal Singh.

Education.

Director of Public Instruction & Head Master, King George V Jubilee High School. B. Chandradip Singh, B.A., L.T.

Inspector of Schools B. Sangam Lal Jain.

DANTA.

Ruler—MAHARANA SHRI BHAWANI SINHJI BAHADUR.

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI PRITHIRAJ SINHJI.

2nd Son—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI MADHUSUDAN SINHJI.

3rd Son—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI RAGHUVIR SINHJI.

Area, 347 square miles. Population, 26,172. Revenue, Rs. 2,01,353.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary K. S. Bisram Singh B. Bhati.
 Household Controller Thakur Nahar Singh R. Chavda.
 A.-D.-C. . . . Mr. Chandan Singh R. Chavda.

Administration.

Ag. Dewan Maharaj Shri Prithi Singhji.
 Ag. Naib Dewan Mr. Prasannakumar P. Desai, B.A., LL.B.

Revenue.

Revenue Commissioner Maharaj Shri Narayan Singh.
 Assistant Revenue Commissioner Mr. Ramchandra P. Kanhere, B.Ag.
 Accountant Rajya-Ratna Hemchand U. Mehta.
 Boundary Officer Mr. Ramchandra P. Kanhere, B.Ag.
 Treasury Officer Mr. Saluram U. Dave.

Judiciary.

Ag. District and Sessions Judge Mr. Prasannakumar P. Desai, B.A., LL.B.
 . First Class Magistrate and State Munsiff. Mr. Pralhad J. Pathak, B.A. (Hons.); LL.B.

Medical.

Chief Medical Officer Dr. Shivnath Singh Rao, M.B., B.S.

PART I—contd.

DANTA—contd

Customs & Excise

Superintendent of Customs and Excise . Rao Sahib Gulab Singh R B Parmar

Forest

Forest Officer . Mr Chandan Singh R Chavda

Police

Ag Superintendent of Police Mr Takhat Singh R Chavda

Records

Record Officer . Mr Mohan Lal D Pandya

Education

Education Inspector . Mr Madhav Singh B Rao

Engineering Department

Public Works Department Officer Mr Nanchand P Shah

Head Surveyor Mr Amar Singh B Palrey

DHOLPUR

Ruler—LIEUTENANT COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS RAIS UD DAULA SIPAHDAH UL MULE

MAHARAJADHIRAJA SRI SAWAI MAHARAJ RANA SIR UDAIBHAN SINGH

LOKINDRA BAHADUR DILER JANG JAI DEO, G C I E, K C S I, K C V O

Area, 1 221 sq miles Population 254 986 Revenue Rs 16 44 000

Personal Staff

Military Secretary

Private Secretary

Assistant Private Secretary

Deorhi Officer

A D Cs.

Surgeon to His Highness

I

.

.

Sardar Ramanand

{ Lallu Rup Singh

{ Captain Megh Singh

{ Sardar Mahabir Singh

{ Lt Col Sardar Raghubir Singh

Rai Bahadur Dr Mukand Lal L M S ,

P C M S (Retd Civil Surgeon)

State Council.

Members (Official)

1 Nawab Rustam Ali Khan Member

2 Mr A N Thorpe Member

3 Rai Bahadur M Kunj Behari Lal

4 Rai Sahib M Din Dayal B A

5 Pandit Kaladhar Tewari

6 Lt Colonel Raghubir Singh Member

7 Rai Bahadur Sardar Tirath Singh, Administrative Officer, Police Department
- I S O

High Court

1 Rai Bahadur Munshi Kunj Behari Lal Chief Justice

2 Rai Sahib M Din Dayal, B A Judge

3 Pt Mauli Chandra Sharma, M A , L L B Judge and Judicial Secretary

Ijlas Khas

1 Revenue Secretary . R B Munshi Kunj Behari Lal.

2 Financial Secretary . . . Pandit Kaladhar Tewari

3 Personal Secretary . . . Rai Sahib M Din Dayal, B A.

4 Military Secretary . . . Lt Col Sardar Raghubir Singh

5 Political Secretary . . . Mr A N Thorpe.

PART I—*contd.*DHOLPUR—*contd.*

General Administration.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Consulting Engineer . . . | Mr. A. N. Thorpe. |
| 2. General Officer Commanding . . . | Lt.-Col. Sardar Raghubir Singh. |
| 3. Superintendent of Police . . . | Lallu Ajmer Singh. |
| 4. Customs and Excise Officer . . . | Qiladar Nahar Singh. |
| 5. Chief Medical Officer . . . | Rai Sahib Dr. Suraj Mal Sarin. |
| 6. Manager, D.-B. Railway. . . | Mr. S. R. Phanse. |
| 7. Acting State Engineer . . . | B. Probodh Chandra Sanyal. |
| 8. Executive Officer, Irrigation Department. | B. Bishambhar Dayal. |
| 9. Administrative Officer, Police Department. | Rai Bahadur Sardar Tirath Singh, I.S.O. |
| 10. Surgeon to His Highness and Director of State Medical and Health Department, Dholpur. | Rai Bahadur Dr. Mukand Lal, L.M.S.; P.C.M.S. |

DUNGARPUR.

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS RAI-RATAN MAHARAJ SRI SIB LAKSHMAN SINGH BAHADUR, K.C.S.I.

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI MAHIPAL SINGH.

Area, 1,460 sq. miles. Population, 227,544. Revenue, Rs. 8,31,000.

Principal Officers.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Musahib Ala . . . | Maharaj Shri Virbhadra Singh, M.A. (Oxon.). |
| 2. Judicial Officer . . . | Gaur Sewaklal. |
| 3. Revenue Officer . . . | Babu Munna Lal. |
| 4. Superintendent of Customs and Excise. | Babu Soowalal Rawat. |
| 5. Comptroller of the Household . . . | Thakur Sangram Singhji of Pieth. |
| 6. Private Secretary . . . | Pt. R. C. Misra. |
| 7. Superintendent of Police and Fauj Bakshi. | Munshi Sadruddin Khan. |
| 8. Superintendent of Forests . . . | Pt. Umashankar Pathak (Offg.). |
| 9. State Accountant . . . | Pt. Lakshmishanker. |
| 10. Mir Munshi Shri Darbar . . . | Pt. Ganpatlal. |
| 11. Chief Medical Officer . . . | Dr. K. D. S. Rao, M.B., B.S. |
| 12. State Engineer. . . . | Chowdhri Niranjandas Datta. |
| 13. Education | Pt. Maheshdas, B.A., L.T. |
| 14. State Mechanical and Electrical Engineer. | Mr. P. Pretty Johns. |

JAIPUR.

Ruler—CAPTAIN HIS HIGHNESS SARANAD-I-RAJAH-I-HINDUSTAN RAJ RAJENDRA SRI MAHARAJA DHIRAJA SRI SAWAI MAN SINGH BAHADUR, G.C.I.E.

Area, 16,682 sq. miles. Population, 2,631,775. Revenue, Rs. 1,35,00,000.

PART I—contd.

JAIPUR—contd.

Personal Staff.

Master of Ceremonies	.	.	Thakur Hari Singh of Achrol
Sardars in-Attendance	.	.	Major General Thakur Amar Singh of Kanota
	.	.	Thakur Bishan Singh of Bissau
Military Secretary	.	.	Major Raj Kumar Prithi Singh of Baria
Private Secretary	.	.	Kanwar Dalel Singh M A, of Palata (Kotah)
Comptroller, His Highness Household	.	.	Major K Amar Singh of Ajairajpura.
Hony A -D -C	.	.	Lt Col Thakur Bhairon Singh
	.	.	Capt Kanwar Bahadur Singh of Isarda
	.	.	Capt Thakur Kesri Singh
Aides de Camp	.	.	Capt Kanwar Amar Singh
	.	.	Capt Kanwar Parbet Singh
	.	.	Lt Th Mangal Singh of Khooor
	.	.	Kr Kishore Singh of Karansar
Palace Physician	.	.	Asstt Surgeon Durga Sahai, M B, B S

Council of State.

President	.	.	His Highness the Maharaja Sabib Bahadur
Prime Minister and Vice-President	.	.	Lt Col Sir H Beauchamp St John, K C I E C B E
Minister in Charge, Army Department	.	.	His Highness the Maharaja Sabib Bahadur
Education Minister	.	.	Rao Bahadur Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner
Finance Minister	.	.	Rai Bahadur Pandit Amarnath Atal, M A
Judicial Minister	.	.	Rai Bahadur Pandit Seetla Prasad Bappai, C I E
Home Minister	.	.	Thakur Hari Singh of Achrol
Revenue Minister	.	.	Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz, C B E

Sigha Member.

Revenue Sigha	.	.	Lt Col. Rai Bahadur Thakur Debi Singh of Chitora
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Secretary and Assistants to Ministers.

Secretary, Army Department	.	.	Major Raj Kumar Prithi Singh of Baria
Assistant to Home Minister	.	.	Thakur Chandra Pal Singh, M A
Assistant to Prime Minister	.	.	Mr Altaf Ahmed Kherie

PART I—*contd.*JAIPUR—*contd.*

Mahakmakhas Secretariat.

Registrar, Mahakmakhas	Khan Sahib Mehrwan M. Khambatta.
Secretary, Council of State	Munshi Altaf Ahmad Kherie.
Superintendent, Vice-President, Army and Judicial Departments.	Syed Abdul Haq.
Superintendent, Record Section	M. Azimuddin Khan, B.A.
Superintendent, Finance Section . . .	Purohit Ganga Sahai, M.A., LL.B.
Superintendent, Education Section . .	M. Hari Narain Bhargava.
Superintendent, Home Section	Pandit Gokal Narain Vyas, B.A., Visharad.
Superintendent, Revenue Section . . .	M. Krishna Gopal Saksena, B.A.
Superintendent, Central Records, De- wani Hazuri Daftar and old Histori- cal Records.	M. Bejai Narain Temani.

Chief Court.

Chief Justice	Rai Bahadur P. Seetla Prasad Bajpai C.I.E.
Judges	{ 1. Rawal Sangram Singh of Samode. 2. Pandit Mool Chand Tiwari, B.A., B.L. 3. Khan Bahadur Munshi Mohammed Abdul Haq, B.A., LL.B.
Personal Assistant to Chief Justice .	Munshi Maharaj Bahadur Nigam.
Registrar	Munshi Sheo Dayal.
Public Prosecutors	{ Munshi Jagan Nath Prasad, B.A., LL.B. Munshi Durga Prasad, M.A., LL.B.

Appellate Court.

Judges	{ 1. Thakur Pratap Singh of Naila. 2. Pandit Durga Sahai, B.A., LL.B. 3. Munshi Jaidev Singh, B.A., LL.B.
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Subordinate and Sessions Judges Courts.

Subordinate Judge, Nizamat of Shekhawati.	Pandit Nagendra Mohan Prasad Tewari, B.Sc., LL.B.
Subordinate and Assistant Sessions Judge, Gangapur and Hindaun Nizamats.	Pandit Ram Gopal, B.A., LL.B.
Subordinate Judge, Sambhar and Malpura.	Mr. Prabhu Dayal Paiwal, B.A., LL.B.
Subordinate Judge, Sawai Madhopur Nizamat.	Babu Kala Chandra Mukerji, B.A., LL.B.
Subordinate Judge, Torawati Nizamat.	Pandit Shiv Kishore Tiwari.
Subordinate Judge, Jaipur City . . .	Munshi Roop Singh Rathore, B.A., LL.B.
Subordinate Judge, Jaipur, Amer and Dausa Nizamats.	Moulvi Abdul Salam, M.A.

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PART I—contd.

JAIPUR—contd

Foujdari (City Magistrate's Court).

Magistrate M Shyam Lal, B A , LL B.

Settlement Department.

Settlement and Chakbandi Officer . Pandit Pashupati Nath Kaul.
Land Records Officer M Chha l Beharilal, B A.

Diwani.

Dewan, Eastern Circle Pt Iswar Narain Kichlu, B A., LL B.
Dewan, Western Circle Munshi Fida Ali Khan.

Public Works Department.

State Engineer Mr P L Bowers, C I E., M C.
State Architect Mr C J Parker
Electrical Engineer Mr James D Addison
Irrigation Engineer Mr L M. Baines
Water Works Engineer Mr F A Naughton.

Police

Inspector General Mr I S Young, C I E
Deputy Inspector General Rai Bahadur Lala Dewan Chand.

Accounts Department.

Special Accounts Officer Dewan Bahadur L Vaishnava Das
Accountant General Babu Dhritendra Nath Sen

Treasury.

Treasury Officer Babu Brij Gopal Bhattacharya, M A ,
B Sc , LL B.
Muntazim, Kapardwara Babu Sat Korn Mukerji, B A.

Palace.

Mohtrmin, Zenani Deorhi Rai Sahib Pandit Suraj Narain, M A.
Officer-in charge, Deorhi Moalla . Kanwar Sher Singh.
Muntazim Bera Khawas Chelan . . Kanwar Sher Singh

Military.

Chief Staff Officer Vacant

Medical Department.

Director of Medical Services Lt -Col. J. P. Huban, O.B.E., I.M.S.

PART I—*contd.*JAIPUR—*concl'd.*

Educational Department.

Director of Education	. . .	Mr. W. Owens, B.A., M.B.E.
Principal, Maharaja's College	. . .	Mr. Kanahia Lal Verma, M.A. (Acting.)
Adhyaksha, Sanskrit College	. . .	Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Girdhar Sharma Chaturvedi, Shastri, Vyakaran Acharya.
Principal, School of Arts	. . .	Mr. K. K. Mukerji.
Inspectress, Girls Schools	. . .	Vacant.

Court of Wards.

Superintendent	Lt.-Col. B. L. Cole, I.A. (Retd.).
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Charity Department.

Superintendent	Pandit Harihar Nath Sukhia.
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State Jails.

Inspector General of Jails	Lt.-Col. J. P. Huban, O.B.E., I.M.S.
Superintendent, Central Jail, Jaipur	Mr. Hakumat Rai.

Customs and Excise Department.

Commissioner, Customs and Excise	Dewan Bahadur Pandit Pyarey Bhargava, B.A.
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Jaipur State Railway.

Agent	Mr. S. D. Gupta, M.A., M.B.E.
Superintendent, Traffic	Mr. E. O. Maxwell.
„ Loco. and Carriage	. . . . .	Mr. A. E. Henderson.
„ Way and Works	. . . . .	Lala Ram Datta Mal, B.A., C.E.
Assistant Auditor	. . . . .	Rai Sahib Keshab Deva Bhargava.

Department of Archaeology and Historical Research.

Director.	Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M. C.I.E.
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JAISALMER.

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJADHIRAJA MAHARAWAL SIR JAWAHIR SINGH
BAHADUR, K.C.S.I.

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SRI GIRDHAR SINGH.

Second Son—MAHARAJ KANWAR SRI HUKAM SINGH.

Grandson—BHANWAR SRI RUGHUNATH SINGH.

Area, 16,062 sq. miles. Population, 76,276. Revenue, Rs. 4,12,551.

Mehkma Khas.

Doctor Lakhpat Rai Sikund, M.A. (Antab.), Dewan.
Ph.D. (Giessen), Bar.-at-Law.

PART I—contd.

JAISALMER—contd.

Foreign and Political Department.

Bakhshi Des Raj . . . Superintendent.

Home Department.

Purohit Kundan Lal . . . Superintendent.

Military Department.

Thakur Sarup Singhji of Tota . . . Military Officer.

Rawlot Guman Singhji . . . Officer, Reserved Gerai.

Revenue Department.

Vyas Ram Lal . . . Superintendent.

Judicial Department.

Lala Sanmukh Ram S. Vakil . . . Chief Judge.

Customs Department.

Mehta Ram Singh . . . Customs Officer.

Medical Department.

Dr. D. U. Dave, M.B., B.S. . . . Medical Officer.

Public Works Department.

Mr. N. C. Dutt, A.M.I.M.E. . . . State Engineer.

Education Department.

Mr. Jawahir Lal Gupta, B.A., L.T. . . Tutor to Maharaj Kumar Sri Hukam Singh and Bhanwar Sri Rughunath Singh.

Pt. Nand Lal J. Vyas . . . Inspector of Schools.

Mr. B. N. Goswami, B.A., LL.B. . . Head Master, Sri Darbar High School.

Accounts Department.

Vyas Hazari Mal . . . Accounts Officer.

Locust Department.

Vacant . . . Locust Control Officer.

JHALAWAR.

Ruler—LIEUT. HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJ RANA RAJENDRA SINGH BAHADUR.

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH BAHADUR.

Area, 813 sq. miles. Population, 107,890. Revenue, Rs. 7,00,000 (approximately).

Shri Rajendra Ijlas.

1. Dewan . . . Rai Bahadur Sahas Dewakar Bhaya Shadi Lal, B.A., LL.B.
2. Judicial Secretary . . . Rai Bahadur Sahas Dewakar Bhaya Shadi Lal, B.A., LL.B.
3. Revenue Secretary . . . Raj Ratnakar Thakur Shiv Nath Singh
4. Finance and P. W. D. Secretary . . . Raj Ratnakar B. Mitthan Lal.
5. Military Secretary . . . Captain Bhaya Sobhag Mal Surana, B.Sc.
6. General Secretary. . . . Sahas Dewakar Maharaj Bhim Singh.
7. Foreign Secretary . . . B. Amar Nath Gambhir, B.A.
8. Mir Munshi to H. H. . . . Raj Ratnakar M. Krishna Kumar.
9. Secretary to Dewan and Federal Secretary. . . P. Harihar Ram Gaur, B.A.
10. Head Clerk . . . B. Krishna Behari Lal.

Personal S.S.I.

Personal S.S.I.

- | | |
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| 1. Private Secretary to His Highness and
His Highness's Household | B. Amar Nath Gambhir, B.A. |
| 2. Asst. House Officer, Secy. | Abdurahim Parla M. Mouniaim. |
| 3. A. D. C. | 1. Mr. Gowardhan Singh,
2. Mr. Mahendra Singh. |
| 4. Superintendent of Messes | Mr. J. M. Usha. |

Judicial Department.

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1. C. S. 22 (1950) O. N. and D. S. S. B. N. Singh, B.A.

1. Comdant. Hk. Abdul Razzaq Khan,
Nadim, Poonch.
2. Raj Sahib Singh. B.Sc., Nadim,
Gawalior.
3. Raj Ramna Th. Kersi Singh. Nadim,
Doon.
4. Raj Ramna P. Gowardhan Lal. Nadim,
Panchpesh.
5. Raj Ramna Th. Kishan Singh. Tehsil,
Jail, Awan.
6. Hk. Jodh Singh. Tehsilidar, Chakdihra,
Jail.
7. Raj Ramna Th. Ganga Singh. Asst.
Nadim, Doon.

1. Surinendone Tinkur Bim Singh, B.Sc.

1. Inspector-General of Police	Captain Bhaya Sothay, Maj. Surana, B.Sc.
2. Officer Commanding State Forces	Captain Bhaya Sothay, Maj. Surana, B.Sc.
3. Superintendent of Police	Captain Ramwar Ram Singh

1. Chief Medical Officer Senior Division Captain Permanent
Dental, 1957, b.c.

1. State Engineer Raj Bhimshen Babu Jagmohan Lal Bhat
M.A.M.I.E., Chartered Engineer
(I.E.E.)

1. Director of Public Instruction and Education Department.
Head Master, Maharaj High School. Bapu Bhai Nishan Lal Bharnagao. M.A.

PART I—contd.

JHALAWAR—concl'd.

Finance Department.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| 1. Accountant-General | . | . | . | Raj Ratnakar B Mittl |
| 2 Treasury Officer | . | . | . | Seth Kushal Raj. |

State Bank

- | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 Managing Director | . | . | . | Raj Ratna Mr Atal Behari Lal, B A. |
|---------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|

Deodhi Khas.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 Munserim Deodhi Khas | . | . | . | Thakur Anoop Singh |
|------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------|

KARAU LI.

**Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SIR BHOM PAL DEO BAHADUR, YADU KUL,
CHANDAR BHAI, K C S.I**

Heir Apparent—MAHARAJ KUNWAR GANESH PAL

Grandsons	.	{	1 Bhanwar Brijendra Pal
			2 „ Surendra Pal

Area, 1,242 sq miles Population, 140 525 Revenue, Rs. 7,10 00

Mahakma Khas.

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Dewan | . | . | . | Raj Bhushan Pandit Shiv Kumar Chatur-
vedi, B A , M R A S , F R E S. |
| 2. Naib Dewan | . | . | . | Lala Mangi Lal. |
| 3. Secretary, Mahakma Khas | . | . | . | B Kistoor Chand Jain, B A |

Personal Staff.

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|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1 Private Secretary to His Highness | . | . | . | B Narain Lal |
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Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Excise.

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|---------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Deputy Collector | . | . | . | Munshi Saghir Hussain |
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Army Department.

Commander-in Chief, State Forces	.	.	.	Thakur Moti Pal.
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Department of Finance and Accounts.

Accountant General	.	.	.	Lala Bhonru Lal (Acting).
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Department of Law and Justice.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. Chief Justice | . | . | . | Vacant |
| 2. Magistrate and Sub-Judge | . | . | . | Munshi Hari Dutta, B A , LL B |
| 3. Munsiff | . | . | . | Thakur Anand Pal, B A , LL B. |

Police Department.

Inspector General of Police	.	.	.	Sardar Bahadur Sardar Kishen Singh.
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Department of Trade and Customs.

Superintendent, Customs	.	.	.	Lala Hazarilal.
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PART I—contd.**JHALAWAR—contd.****Personal Staff.**

1. Private Secretary to His Highness and B. Amar Nath Gambhir, B.A.
Household Controller.
2. Asstt. Household Controller Aitmad-ud-Daula M. Mouzuddin.
3. A. D. C.s 1. Th. Gowardhan Singh.
2. Lieut. Mukand Singh.
4. Superintendent Guests Lieut. Alim Uddin.

Principal Officers.**Judicial Department.**

1. Judge, High Court Rai Bahadur Sahas Dewakar Bhaya
Shadi Lal, B.A., LL.B.
2. District and Sessions Judge Mr. Kanhaiya Lal, B.Sc., LL.B.
3. Civil Judge, Brijnagar Mr. Shyam Behari Lal, B.A.
4. District Magistrate Mr. Nitya Kinker Hazra, B.A., LL.B.
5. Munsiff and Magistrate, Pachpahar. Pt. Surajmal Sharma, B.Sc., LL.B.
6. Reader and Registrar, High Court Mr. Duli Chand Bajpai, B.Sc., LL.B.

Revenue Department.

1. Chief Revenue Officer and Director of B. Narain Singh, B.Ag.
Agriculture.
2. Nazims and Tehsildars 1. Captain Kr. Abdul Razzaq Khan,
Nazim, Patan.
2. Raj Sobhag Singh, B.Sc., Nazim,
Gangdhar.
3. Raj Ratana Th. Kesri Singh, Nazim,
Dag.
4. Raj Ratna P. Gowardhan Lal, Nazim,
Pachpahar.
5. Raj Ratna Th. Kishan Singh, Tehsil-
dar, Awar.
6. Kr. Jodh Singh, Tehsildar, Shrichhtra-
pur.
7. Raj Ratna Th. Ganga Singh, Asstt.
Nazim, Dag.

Forest, Customs and Excise Department.

1. Superintendent Thakur Zalim Singh, B.Sc.

Military Department.

1. Inspector-General of Police Captain Bhaya Sobhag Mal Surana, B.Sc.
2. Officer Commanding State Forces Captain Bhaya Sobhag Mal Surana, B.Sc.
3. Superintendent of Police Captain Kanwar Ram Singh.

Medical Department.

1. Chief Medical Officer Sahas Bhushan Captain Parmanand
Bhatia, M.B., B.S.

Public Works Department.

1. State Engineer Raj Bhushan Babu Jagmohan Lal Bhat-
nagar, A.M.I.E., Chartered Engineer
(Ind.)

Education Department.

1. Director of Public Instruction and Babu Radha Kishan Lal Bhatnagar,
Head Master, Maharaj High School. M.A.

PART I—*contd.*

JHALAWAR—concl'd.

Finance Department.

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|-----------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Accountant General | . | . | . | Raj Ratnakar B Mitthan Lal |
| 2. Treasury Officer | . | . | . | Seth Kushal Raj. |
| State Bank | | | | |
| 1 Managing Director | . | . | . | Raj Ratna Mr. Atal Behari Lal, B A. |

Deodhi Khas.

1. Munserim Deodhi Khas . . . Thakur Anoop Singh.

KARALI.

**Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SIR BHOM PAL DEO BAHADUR, YADU KUL,
CHANDAR BHAL, K.C.S.I**

Heir Apparent—MAHARAJ KUNWAR GANGSE PAL

Grandsons { 1. Bhanwar Brijendra Pal
2. „ Surendra Pal

Area, 1,242 sq miles Population, 140,525 Revenue, Rs. 7,10,000

Mahakma Khas.

. Raj Bhushan Pandit Shiv Kumar Chatur-
 vedi, B A , M R A S , F R E S .

2. Naib Dewan Lala Mangi Lal,
3. Secretary, Mahakma Khas B Kistoor Chand Jain, B A

Personal Staff.

- 1 Private Secretary to His Highness . B Naram Lal.

Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Excise.

1. Deputy Collector Munshi Saghir Hussain

Army Department.

Commander-in Chief, State Forces . Thakur Moti Pal.

Department of Finance and Accounts.

Accountant General . . . Lala Bhonru Lal (Acting).

Department of Law and Justice.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Chief Justice | . | . | . | Vacant |
| 2. Magistrate and Sub-Judge | . | . | . | Munshi Hari Dutta, B A , LL B. |
| 3. Munsiff | . | . | . | Thakur Anand Pal, B A . LL.B. |

Police Department.

Inspector General of Police Sardar Bahadur Sardar Kishen Singh.

Department of Trade and Customs.

Superintendent, Customs Lala Hazarilal.

PART I—contd**KARAULI—contd.****Department of Education and Municipality.**

Head Master, Maharaja's High School . Pandit Shyam Sunder Sankhdher, B.A.,
L.T., LL.B.

President, Municipal Board . . . Kanwar Bahadur Singh.

Medical Department.

Chief Medical Officer Dr. S. N. Malhotra, M.D., F.C.P.S.,
M.B., B.S.

Public Works Department.

Superintending Engineer . . . Mr. Shyam Lal Gupta, M.A., B.Sc.,
(Engineering).

Miscellaneous.

Superintendent, Power House and Motor Garage. Seth Pallanji N. Panthaki.

KISHENGARH.

**Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS UMDAE RAJAHAI BULAND-MAKAN MAHARAJADHIRAJA
YAGYANARAIN SINGH BAHADUR.**

Area, 858 sq. miles. Population, 85,744. Revenue, Rs. 7,50,000.

State Council.

1. President His Highness the Maharaja.
2. Chief Member of Council . . . Rao Sahib Lala Kesarisingh, B.A., LL.B.
3. Home Member Thakur Dalipsingh.
4. Revenue Member Rai Sahib Purohit Shridhar.
5. Development Member . . . Pandit Harihar Swaroop, B.A.
6. Members without Portfolio . . . { (1) Rajwin Suraj Singh.
(2) Thakur Gobindsingh of Sinodia.
(3) Rao Sahib Thakur Ranjit Singh of
Raghunathpura.
(4) Khan Sahib Mir Sikandar Ali.
(5) Mir Yaqub Ali.
(6) Govindasot Hari Singh.
7. Secretary to the Council . . . M. Gulab Rai Saxena.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja. Rajwin Suraj Singh.

Controller of the Palace and Household. Rajwin Suraj Singh.

Palace Physician Khan Sahib Mir Sikandar Ali.

PART I—*contd.*KISHENGARH—*contd.*

Important Members of the Administr

1 Chief Judge	Rao Sahib Thakur Ranjit Singh
2 District and Sessions Judge	Babu Govind Ram Gupta, M A , LL B.
3 Hakims Faujdari Court	Lala Kameshwar Prasad, B Sc , LL B. and Mehta Amar Singh
4 Hakims Adalat Diwan	Prohit Shri Krishna Das, B A , LL B. and Kanwar Naram Singh
5 Medical Officer	Dr Amritlal Bapna, M B , B .
6 Buxi Fauj	Kunwar Ganga Singh
7 Assistant Revenue Member	Mehta Sobhag Singh
8 Buxi Jagir	Purohit Ram Pratap
9. Treasury Officer	Mehta Sooraj Singh
10 Auditor	Chaudhri Ram Bilas
11 Superintendent of Land Records	Pandit Kalyan Datta
12 Superintendent of Police	Dhabai Kishanlal, M A , LL
13 Offg Superintendent of Abkari	Ghanshyam Das Gupta
14 Head Master and Inspector of City Schools	Mr W. L. Nakhre, B Sc , L T
15. State Engineer	Mir Raushan Ali.
16. Electrical Engineer	L. Manohar Lal Mathur
17 Darbar Wakil at Mount Abu	Pandit Ambay Nath
18 „ Ajmer	Lala Jagdamba Lal
19. „ Jodhpur	Lala Hukam Rai, B A
20 Inspector of Village Schools	Chempawat Laxman Singh

KOTAH

Ruler—LIEUTENANT COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAO SIR UMED SINGH BAHADUR,
G C S I , G C I E , G B E , LL D

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI BHIM SINGH

Area, 5 63½ sq miles Population 635,804 Revenue, Rs 51 51 937

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary Raj Chander Senji
Secretary to Shri Maharaj Kumar Lala Gopi Nath Agarwal, B A

Administration.

Member, Mahakma Khas Major General Apji Onkar Singh, C I E.
Do Rai Bahadur Sardar Kahn Chandji
Secretary, Mahakma Khas Pt Kaushal Kishore Bhargava, B A.

PART I—*contd.*

KOTAH—*contd.*

Revenue Department.

Revenue Commissioner	M. Khazan Singh.
Assistant Revenue Commissioners	{ Pandit Duni Chand—Ladpura Division. Babu Shiam Swarup—Baran Division. Munshi Hari Shanker—Aklara Division.

Judicial Department.

Sessions Judge	Rai Bahadur Pandit Sri Ram Bhargava.
Sub-Judge	Babu Hira Lal Adholia, B.A., LL.B., Kotah.
Additional Sub-Judge	Kanwar Ajit Singh, B.A., LL.B. Kotah.
District Magistrate	Pt. Har Nath Chaturvedi, B.A., LL.B., Kotah.
District Magistrate and Sub-Judge	{ Babu Jagdish Sahai, B.A., LL.B., Baran. M. Zafar Mohammad Khan, M.A., LL.B., Aklara.

Public Works Department.

State Engineer	C. M. Parekh, Esqr., B.E., M. R. San, I.
Assistant „	Babu Vidya Ratan Bhatnagar, Kotah Division.
„ „	Babu Shamsul Rahman, Baran Division.
Electrical Engineer and Water Works Manager.	B. Anandi Lal Bhargava.

Education Department.

Director of Education	Lala Daya Krishna, M.A., LL.B.
Principal, Herbert Intermediate College, Kotah	Lala Daya Krishna, M.A., LL.B.

Army Department.

General Officer Commanding, State Forces.	Colonel Thakur Prithi Singh.
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Police Department.

Inspector-General, Police	Babu Ram Das Baijal.
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Forests and Customs Department.

Superintendent of Customs, Excise and Forests.	Pandit Mukand Rao.
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Accounts Department.

Controller of Accounts	Babu Chunni Lal Shukla.
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PART I—contd.**KOTAH—concl**

	Medical Department.
Chief Medical Officer	Rao Sahib Dr Vidya Shanker L M & S.
Lady Doctor	Miss G K Dhairyanan, M B, B S
	Kotriyat
Hakim Kotriyat	M Abdul Wahab
	Pun (Charity) Department.
Hakim Pun	Purohit Krishna Datta
	Co-operative Societies.
Registrar	B Ghansham Dass, B Ag
Chairman, Municipal Board, Kotah	M Prem Sukh

MARWAR (JODHPUR)

Ruler—COL HIS HIGHNESS RAJ RAJESHWAR MAHARAJA DHIRAJA SIR UMAID SINGH BAHADUR G C S I, G C I E, K C V O, A D C, born 8th July 1903

Heir-Apparent—MAHARAJ KANWAR SRI HANWANT SINGH, born 16th June 1923 ; 2ND MAHARAJ KUMAR HIMMAT SINGH, born 21st June 1925, 3RD MAHARAJ KUMAR HARI SINGH born 21st September 1929, a daughter, born on the 14th December 1930, and 4th Maharaj Kumar DEVI SINGH born on the 20th September 1933

Brother—Maharaj Sri Ajit Singh, born 1st May 1907

Area, 36,021 sq miles Population, 2,125,982 Revenue, Rs 1,53,49,000

State Council.

- 1 President H H the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur
 - 2 Chief Minister and Finance Minister Lt Col. Sir Donald Moyle Field, Kt C I E
 - 3 Home Minister Thakur Madho Singh of Santhwas
 - 4 P. W. Minister Mr S G Edgar, I S E
 5. Revenue Minister The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Nawab Chowdhri, Mohammad Din
 - 6 Judicial Minister Rai Bahadur Lala Kanwar Sain M A : Bar-at-Law
 7. Assistant to the Finance Minister . Major F. Steel, O B.E, B A (Oxon).
- Assistant Secretary, State Council and Mr Prem Saran Sinha
Personal Assistant to the Chief Minister.

Mehakma Khas.

- Secretary in the Political Department. Khan Sahib T G Dalal.
Secretary in the Judicial Department Mr. Shanier Narain Rao, B A, L T
Secretary in the Revenue Department . Mr Rashid Khan, B A LL B (tempy).
Secretary in the Home Department . Mr Kishen Puri, B A, LL B (tempy).
Secretary, Finance Department . Mr. Billam Chand.
Secretary, P W. Deptt Mr Bhopal Chand
Assistant Secretary, Political Rao Raja Mohan Singh, B A, LL B.

PART I—contd.**MARWAR (JODHPUR)—contd.****Advisory Council.**

President	1. Maharaj Shri Ajit Singh.
Members	2. Rao Bahadur Thakur Nathu Singh of Ras.
	3. Rao Bahadur Thakur Girdhari Singh of Chandawal.
	4. Thakur Devi Singh of Bhadrajun.

Personal Staff.

Personal Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja.	Rao Raja Abhey Singh.
Comptroller, Household	Rao Raja Abhey Singh.
Comptroller of Stables	Major Rao Bahadur Rao Raja Hanut Singh.
	1. Maharaj Sri Guman Singh.
	2. Maharaj Sher Singh.
	3. Lieut.-Colonel Maharaj Akhey Singh.
	4. Rao Bahadur Lt.-Col. Thakur Dalpat Singh of Rohat.
A.-D.-Cs. to H. H. the Maharaja	5. Major Rao Bahadur Rao Raja Hanut Singh.
	6. Thakur Kishore Singh of Indroka.
	7. Kanwar Kalyan Singh.

Military Headquarter Staff.

Military Adviser	Brigadier R. C. Duncan, M.V.O., O.B.E.
Military Secretary	Do.
Medical Officer	Rai Sahib Lt.-Col. S. N. Parnaick, L.M.S.
Brigade Signal Officer	Lt. K. Kesri Singh.
Veterinary Officer	Risaldar Din Mohamed (Retired I. A. V.C.)

Judicial Department.

1. Chief Judge, Chief Court	Mr. Nawal Kishore, M.A., LL.B.
2. Puisne Judge	Mehta Ranjeet Mall, B.A., LL.B.
3. Puisne Judge	Lala Sukhdeo Narain, B.A., LL.B.
4. District and Sessions Judge, Division No. 1.	Modi Shambhu Nath, B.A.
5. District and Sessions Judge, Division No. 2.	K. Amar Singh.
6. District and Sessions Judge, Division No. 3.	Thakur Hem Singh.
7. District and Sessions Judge, Division No. 4.	Pandit Nandlal, B.A.

Medical Department.

1. Principal Medical Officer	Mr. E. W. Hayward, F.R.C.S.
2. Superintendent of Jaswant Female Hospital.	Mrs. Lucy Tarleton.

JODHPUR RAILWAY.**Management Department.**

Manager	Mr. J. W. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E. A.M.I.C.E.
Secretary to Manager and Controller of Stores.	Mr. H. G. Rawlins.
Hon'y. Asstt. Secretary	Rai Sahib Ghisoo Lal.

PART I—contd**MARWAR (JODHPUR)—contd****JODHPUR RAILWAY—contd.****Engineering Department.**

4	Chief Engineer	E E V Temperley, MC, AMICE
5	Executive Engineer	Mr C Gregory Jones, MC, AMICE
6	Assistant Engineer	Mr D A Phillips
7.	" "	Mr O W H Roberts
8	" "	Mr J C Le Jeune
9	" "	Mr C L Kumar
10	Probationary Assistant Engineer .	Mr M A Rao
11	Assistant Engineer	Mr S J Stephens

Traffic Department.

12	Chief Traffic Manager	Major G F Evans, OBE
13	Deputy Traffic Manager	Mr G T Simpson
14	Assistant Traffic Superintendent .	Mr R C Bater
15	Assistant Traffic Superintendent	Mr Din Dayal Veda, MA
16	Assistant Traffic Superintendent	Mr C I Wotherspoon,
17.	Probationer Assistant Traffic Superintendent	Mr Nar Narain Asopa

Loco, Carriage and Wagon Department

18	Acting Loco, Carriage and Wagon Superintendent	Mr G T Grafton
19	Acting Deputy Loco Superintendent	Mr G H R Wingate
20	Acting Assistant Loco Superintendent	Mr R Cardoza

Audit Department.

21	Auditor of Accounts	Mr. G H A Wood
22	Senior Assistant Auditor	Mr E M Dady (On leave)
23	Ag Senior Assistant Auditor	Mr Udey Raj

Stores Department.

27	Assistant Controller of Stores	Mr H G D'Mellow
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Public Works Department.

	Superintending Engineer	Mr S G Edgar, ISE
	Electrical Engineer	Mr. C H Wilson
	Executive Engineer	Mr F F Ferguson

Education Department.

	Director of Education	Mr A P Cox, MA
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Accounts and Audit Department.

	State Auditor	Major F Steel, OBE, B A. (Oxon).
	Assistant State Auditor	Mr V H Thattey.

PART I—*contd.*MARWAR (JODHPUR)—*concl'd.*

Police Department.

Inspector General of Police . . . Khan Bahadur M. R. Kothawala, O.B.E.

Other Officers.

Superintendent, Court of Wards . . . Mr. Panna Lal.

Superintendent of Customs . . . Mr. Bhawani Sahai, B.A., LL.B. (Temporary).

Superintendent, Land Revenue . . . Mr. Niranjan Swaroop, B.A., LL.B.

Superintendent, Inland Revenue . . . Lala Anand Swarup, B.A.

Superintendent, Forests . . . Kothari Suganchand, B.A., P.F.S.

Superintendent, Central Jail . . . Khan Bahadur M. R. Kothawala, O.B.E.

Superintendent, Garage . . . Mr. H. Cohn.

Superintendent, Tribute . . . Mehta Jaswant Raj, B.A., LL.B.

Officer-in-charge, Archaeological Department. . . Pandit Bisheswar Nath Reu.

Superintendent, Press and Stationery Department. . . Mr. Chain Furi.

Superintendent, Stamps and Registration. . . K. Chiman Singh.

Legal Remembrancer to the Government and Legal Adviser to Ijlas-i-Khas. . . Sardar Bahadur Bhagwan Singh, Bar.-at-Law.

Director of Animal Husbandry . . . Dr. C. J. Fernandes.

MEWAR (UDAIPUR).

Ruler—His Highness MAHARAJADHIRAJA MAHARANA SIR BHUPAL SINGH BAHADUR, G.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Area, 12,691 sq. miles. Population, 1,566,916. Revenue, Rs. 66,03,000 (Imperial) (approximate estimate).

Musahib Ala.

Dewan Bahadur Pandit Dharam Narain, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, Thakur of Jasnagar (Marwar).

Mehakma Khas.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Babu Prabhash Chandra Chatterjee. | } Ministers. |
| 2. Mr. Tej Singh Mehta, B.A., LL.B. | |
| 3. Mr. Madan Lal Rathi, B.A., LL.B. | |

Registrar.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharana. . . B. Ram Gopal Tiwari.

Members, Mahendraj Sabha.

1. Rao Bahadur Nahar Singh, Rao of Bedla.
2. Raj Ratan Singh of Tana.
3. Raja Amar Singh of Banera.
4. Thakur Gopal Singh of Badnore.
5. Raj Runna Jaswant Singh of Delwara.
6. Maharaj Hari Singh of Netawal.
7. Dewan Bahadur Dharam Narain, B.A., Bar.-at-Law.
8. Babu Prabhas Chandra Chatterji.
9. Rai Bahadur P. Kamlakar Dube.
10. Ranawat Jawan Singhji, M.A., LL.B.
11. Dalchand Agarwal, B.A., LL.B.
12. Pandit Ashwini Kumar, B.A., LL.B.
13. Babu Bindu Lal Bhattacharya, B.A., LL.B.
14. Pandit Gopi Nath Ojah, M.A., LL.B.
15. Mehta Jiwan Singh.
16. Rai Sahib M. Bhagwati Lal.
17. Pandit Piyarey Kishan Kaul.
18. Pandit Rati Lal Antani, B.A., Member and Secretary.

PART I—*contd*MEWAR (UDAIPUR)—*contd*

State Officials

Sessions Judge at Udaipur	. . .	K Man Singh, Bar at Law
Sessions Judge at Bhilwara		B Shardul Singh Mehta, B A , LL B
Revenue Commissioner		Rai Bahadur P Kamalakar Dube
Superintendent P W D and Irriga- tion		Rai Sahib Sant Ram Sahgal B Sc CE M R S I
Residency Surgeon and Superintendent of State Jails and Hospitals		Lt Col W P Hogg, D S O , M C , I M S.
Assistant Surgeon in charge, Lansdowne Hospital		Rai Bahadur Dr Chhagan Nath, L M S.
Manager, Udaipur Chittorgarh Railway		Mr M H Irens MInst CE
Treasury Officer	. . .	Mehta Laxman Singh
Boundary Settlement Officer		Major F J Loftus Tottenham, I A
Accountant General .		Mr Moti Lal Bohra
Commissioner of Excise and Customs		Ranawat Kesri Singh, B A , LL B
Vakil attached to the Mewar Residency		Mr Ishwari Singh Chandela
Commandant, Mewar State Forces		Major F J. Loftus Tottenham, I A.
Officer Commanding, Cavalry Units		Major Reghunath Singh
Officer Commanding, Bhupal Infantry		Lt Col Kishan Singh Bohra Sardar Bahadur O B I I O M
Officer Commanding Sajjan Infantry		Major Shamsher Singh
Inspector General of Police		Rao Sahib Maharaj Lachhman Singh.
Superintendent of City Police .		Sahiwala Ranjit Singh
Conservator of Forests	. . .	Mr Basanti Lal Murdia
Director of Public Instruction		Rai Sahib Kulwant Rai, M A
President, Municipal Board		Rai Sahib Pandit Priywal
Hakim, Dharam Sabha		Mr Fateh Singh
Hakim Dewasthan . . . .	. . .	Mr Mathura Nath Pancholi.
General Manager, State Cotton Factories		Mr Rustomji Tankariwala
Superintendents, Courts of Wards	. {	Mehta Jagan Nath Singh Rao Bahadur Thakur Raj Singh.
Mining Engineer and Geologist . .	. . .	Pt Onkar Lal Joshi, A I S M (Mining), A I S M (Geology), A I M E (London)

PALANPUR.

Ruler—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS NAWAB SIR TALEY MOHAMMAD KHAN BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C.

Heir-Apparent—NAWABZADA SHRI IQBAL MOHAMMAD, KHAN BAHADUR.

Area, 1768·89 sq. miles. Population, 2,64,179. Revenue, Rs. 11,28,000.

State Officials.

1. Mr. Damodardas Vrajlal Patwari, B.A., LL.B., Acting Wazir.
2. Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., J. P., Judicial Adviser.
3. Mr. Khodabhai Somabhai Desai, B.A., Revenue Minister.
4. Mr. Yahyanian Yakubmian Syed, B.A., LL.B., Acting Finance Minister, and Sessions Judge.
5. Mr. Shrinivas Sitaram Hajare, M.B., B.S., Chief Medical Officer.
6. Mr. M. H. Shaikh, Superintendent of Police.
7. Mr. Chunilal Muliram Joshi, Acting Khangi Karbhari.
8. Mr. Appa Saheb Tatke, Private Secretary to His Highness.
9. Mr. N. C. Kothari, Customs Officer.
10. Mr. Maganlal G. Desai, B.Ag., Forest Officer.
11. Mr. Sedsabmian A. Syed, Public Works Officer.
12. Mr. Mohanlal G. Udeshi, M.A., Head Master, Palanpur High School.

PARTABGARH.

Ruler—HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAWAT RAM SINGH BAHADUR.

Area, 886 sq. miles. Population, 76,539. Revenue, Rs. 5,86,668.

State Officials.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Diwan | | Rao Sahib C. M. Shroff, B.A. |
| 2. Kamdar Khasgi | | Shah Manna Lal. |
| 3. Naib Diwan | | Shah Manak Lal, B.A., LL.B. |
| 4. Private Secretary to His Highness | | Mr. Pheerozeshaw Fardoonji. |
| 5. Revenue Officer | | Maharaj Balwant Singh. |
| 6. Civil & Criminal Judge | | Babu Mohan Lal Agarwal, B.A., LL.] |
| 7. Superintendent of Customs and
Excise. | | Bapu Baktawar Singh. |
| 8. Medical Officer | | Dr. Jiwanlal P. Parekh, L.M. & S. |
| 9. Educational Officer | | Mr. Wamanrao Gopalji Kale, B.A. |
| 10. Superintendent of Police | | Purohit Jagdish Lal. |

PART I—contd.**SIROHI.**

**Ruler—His HIGHNESS MAHARAJADHIRAJA MAHARAO SIR S
BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.**

Area, 1,964 sq. miles. Population, 216,523. Revenue, Rs. 10,05,006.

Personal Staff.

1. Secretary to His Highness . . . Molvi Zafarul Hassan, B.A., LL.B.
Advocate.
2. Personal Assistant to His Highness. Major R. H. Crisp.

Principal Officers.

1. Chief Minister Mr. E. G. L. Laird MacGregor, I.C.S.
(retd.).
2. Revenue Commissioner . . . Nayaya Ratna Desai Lallubhai.
3. Chief Judge Mr. Partabrai C. Desai, B.A., LL.B.,
Bom. C. S. (retired).
4. Chief Medical Officer . . . Dr. R. D. Shirali, L.M. & S., Vaidya Ratna.
5. Vakil attached to the Hon'ble the
A. G. G., Rajputana. Molvi Shakurul Hassan.
6. Inspector General of Police . . Mr. F. C. Coventry.
7. Superintendent of Police . . .
8. State Engineer Rai Sahib Visaji.
9. First Class Magistrate, Western Division, Sirohi. Mr. Amritlal Dosi, B.A., LL.B.
10. First Class Magistrate, Eastern Division, Abu Road. Mr. G. S. Apte, M.A., LL.B.
11. Medical Officer, Abu Road . . Dr. Ripan H. Desai, M.B., B.S.
12. Superintendent of Education . Mr. M. N. Zutshi, B.A.
13. Accounts Officer Mr. Punam Chand S. Vahitra.
14. Excise Superintendent . . . Mr. Ram Prasad Jaswal.
15. Customs Superintendent . . .
16. Forest Superintendent . . .

TONK.

**Ruler—His HIGHNESS SAID-UD-DAULA WAZIR-UL-MULK NAWAB HAFIZ
SIR MOHAMMAD SAADAT ALI KHAN BAHADUR, SAULAT-I-JANG, G.C.I.E.**

Area, 2,553 sq. miles. Population, 317,360. Revenue, Rs. 21,76,283.

State Council.

1. President His Highness the Nawab.
2. Vice-President, State Council . Lt. Colonel G. W. Anderson, C.I.E.
3. Judicial Member Khan Bahadur Sheikh Rahim Bakshi,
O.B.E.

PART I—contd.

TONK—contd.

State Council—contd.

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|-----------------------------|---|
| 4. Home Member | Khan Bahadur Sahibzada Mohamed Abid
Tawwab Khan, Salar Jang. |
| 5. Finance Member | Lt. Col. G. W. Anderson, C.I.E. |
| 6. Revenue Member | Sheikh Ghulam Mohammad Bahauddin. |

Other Officials.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Chief Judge | Khan Bahadur Sheikh Rahim Bakht,
O.B.E. |
| 2. Inspector-General of Police | F. G. Fox, Esqr. |
| 3. General of the State Forces | Munshi Abdul Rahim. |
| 4. District and Sessions Judge | Khan Bahadur Makhdoom Syed Shauk
Shah Jilani. |
| 5. Chief Medical Officer | Doctor Ram Mansoor, M.D., D.P.H. |
| 6. State Engineer | M. Wahidullah Khan. |
| 7. Secretary, State Council | M. Hamid Hussain, B.A. |
| 8. Nazim, Customs and Excise | Mr. Dosabhai Marfatia. |
| 9. Superintendent, Court of Wards | Khan Bahadur-Sahibzada Mohammad
Abdul Tawwab Khan, Salar Jang. |
| 10. Civil Judge | M. Majid Malik, B.A., LL.B. |
| 11. State Forest Officer | Sardar Inder Singh. |

Durbar's Office.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Private Secretary | Babu Chand Mal. |
| 2. Durbar Secretary | Khan Sahib Mirza Hamid Ali Khan. |
| 3. Controller of the Household | M. S. M. Yusuf. |

Personal Staff of the Durbar.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| A.-D.-Cs. to Durbar | { 1. S. Z. Amir Khan.
2. S. Z. Abdul Bais Khan. |
| Mir Saman | Mirza Mohammad Beg. |

SHAHPURA.

Ruler—RAJADHIRAJA UMAID SINGHJI, RAJA OF SHAHPURA.

Heir-Apparent—RAJKUMAR SUDARSHAN DEV.

Grandson.—BHANWAR INDRAJEET DEV.

Parganah Phulia.—Area, 495 sq. miles. Population, 54,233. Revenue, Rs. 5,36,854.

Parganah Kachhola.—Area, 300 sq. miles. Population, 19,935. Revenue, Rs. 58,362.

Mahakma Khas.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Pradhan | Kanwar Jagbhan Singh B.A., LL.B., |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|

Personal Staff.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Private Secretary to Rajadhiraj Sahib | B. Basantilal, B.A., LL.B. |
| 2. Officer-in-charge Hazur office | Thakur Madan Singh. |
| 3. Mir Munshi | Lala Madan Mohan. |
| 4. Kamdar to Rajkumar Sahib | Kunwar Manohar Singh. |

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PART I—contd.

SHAHUPURA—contd

Revenue Department.

1. Jantri Mal Babu Mansa Ram

Judicial Department.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Sessions Judge | . . . | B Sarup Narain |
| 2 Judicial Officer, Kachhola | . . . | Purohit Badri Lal |
| 3 District Magistrate | . . . | Kr Manohar Singh |
| 4 Civil Judge | . . . | Babu Suraj Bhan, B A , LL B |
| 5 Judge, Small Cause Court | . . . | Singhvi Madan Singh |

Education Department

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| 1 Director of Education | . . . | Babu Basanti Lal, B A LL B |
| 2 Head Master, Darbar High School | | Mr Mohan Lal Gupta, M A ,C T |

Other Principal Officers.

- | | | |
|--|-------|--|
| 1 Bakhshi Fauj | . . . | Lt Kanwar Daulat Singh, B Ag
FRHS (London) |
| 2 Manager, Court of Wards and Officer, Agricultural Department | | Lt Kanwar Daulat Singh, B Ag ,
FRHS (London) |
| 3 Treasury Officer | . . . | Kanwar Raghunath Singh |
| 4 Superintendent of Police | | Thakur Goverdhan Singh |
| 5 Superintendent of Customs | | Thakur Mohan Singh |
| 6 Medical Officer | | Dr Kushal Singh, L M P , (C P) and
L T M (Cal) |
| 7 Records Officer | | Shah Sardarmal |
| 8 Superintendent of Excise Department | | Lal Kanhya Lal |
| 9 Officer in charge P W D | | Mehta Madan Singh |
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KUSHALGARH (CHIEFSHIP)

Chief—RAO RANJIT SINGH

Area, 340 sq miles Population, 35 564 Revenue Rs 1,02 600

Officials of the Chiefship.

Mehakma Khas.

- | | | |
|-----------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1 Manager | | Mr Abdul Qayyum Khan, B A |
|-----------|---------|---------------------------|

Heads of the Department

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| 1 Revenue and Judicial Officer | | Mr Daryao Singh |
| 2 Excise Customs and Forest Officer | | Pt Ganpatlal B Bhatt |
| 3 Head Accountant | . . . | Mr Amar Singh |
| 4 Medical Officer | . . . | Dr B L Sharma |
| 5 Superintendent of Police | . . . | Vacant |
| 6 Head Master | . . . | Mr Keshav Lal Jain, B A |
| 7 Overseer | . . . | Mr Roop Kishore |

PART I—*concl'd.*

LAWA (CHIEFSHIP).

Thakur—BANS PARDEEP SINGH (MINOR).

Area, 20 sq. miles. Population 2,790. Revenue, Rs. 30,000.

Manager Rai Sahib Pt. Jumna Lal.

 PART I-A.

STATE VAKILS IN ATTENDANCE ON THE HON'BLE THE RESIDENT FOR RAJPUTANA.

Bikaner Rao Gopal Singh.

Kishangarh Pandit Ambay Nath.

Sir

To:

PART II.

1.—Officers at Headquarters

Serial No	Name and designation	Date of appointment.
1	The Hon'ble Lieut Colonel Sir George Ogilvie, K C I E , CSI Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	29th October 1932
2	Mr C G Herbert, I C S , Secretary to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	7th March 1936
3	Mr A E Drake I C S , Under Secretary to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	15th March 1937
4	Mr M S Chakrabarty, Financial Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	8th July 1929
5	Mr R S Bell, I P Inspector General of Railway Police and Police Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana	20th November 1935
6	Lt Colonel R Hay, I M S , Chief Medical Officer in Rajputana	20th December 1935
7	Captain R C Langford, R A M C , Civil Surgeon Mount Abu	21st March 1937
8	Mrs C B Burdwood Personal Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	23rd April 1937.
9	M Shyam Sunderlal, Tehsildar, Mount Abu	6th April 1934.

PART II—*contd.*

2.—Officers in States.

IPUR (*Headquarters, Jaipur*)—

Mr. F. V. Wylie, C.I.E., I.C.S., Resident.

UWAR AND SOUTHERN RAJPUTANA STATES (*Headquarters, Udaipur*)—

Lieut.-Colonel G. L. Betham, C.I.E., M.C., Resident and Political Agent.

EASTERN RAJPUTANA STATES (*Headquarters, Jodhpur*)—

Major G.V.B. Gillon, C.I.E., Resident.

EASTERN RAJPUTANA STATES (*Headquarters, Bharatpur*)—

Mr. H. J. Todd, Political Agent.

HILLY TRACTS, MEWAR (*Headquarters, Kherwara*)—

Major J. F. Maxwell, A. I. R. O., Assistant to the Resident in Mewar.

AJMER-MERWARA.

PART III

Chief Commissioner	The Hon'ble Lieut-Col Sir George Ogilvie K C I E, C S I
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner	Mr C G Herbert, I C S
Under Secretary to the Chief Commissioner	Mr A E Drake
Financial Assistant to the Chief Commissioner	Mr M S Chakrabarty
Commissioner	Mr B J K Hallows, I C S
Assistant Commissioner	Mr Akhtar Husain I C S

Office Staff.

Superintendent, Commissioner's Office Mr Lalit Narain

Revenue Staff.

Extra Assistant Commissioners	{ *Raj Sahib M Ram Swaroop Rawat Extra Assistant Commissioner, Merwara
	{ *Rao Bahadur Thakur Onkar Singh, General Manager Court of Wards (on leave)
	{ *Mr Kedar Nath (Officiating)
Sub Divisional Officer, Khetri	{ *M Abdul Qayyum Khan B A (on foreign service)
	{ M Abdul Majid Khan, B A, LL B. (offg)
Tehsildars	{ P Durga Datta Upadhaya, B Ag, Ajmer.
	{ M Maharaj Narain, Beawar
	{ M Abdul Rauf, Todgarh

Judicial Staff.

Judicial Commissioner	Mr E Weston I C S
District and Sessions Judge and District Magistrate	Mr B J K Hallows I C S
Additional District and Sessions Judge	Raj Bahadur M Shiv Charan Das, Barr at Law
Additional District Magistrate	Mr Akhtar Husain, I C S
Judge Small Cause Court, Ajmer	Mr Madan Gopal B A LL B
Sub Judge, Ajmer	Mr Moynuddin Qurashi B A, LL B. (Offg)
City Magistrate, Ajmer	Mr Erachshah D Mehta B A, LL B (On leave)
	Mr Jawahar Lal Rawat M A, LL B (offg)
Sub Judge, Beawar	Raj Sahib P Jagat Nandan, B A, LL B
Railway Magistrate	Raj Bahadur P Triloki Nath, B A, LL B
Superintendent, Judicial Commissioner's Court	Mr Hira Lal
Registrar, Small Cause Court, Ajmer	Mr Onkar Prasad, B A, LL B.
Sheriff	P Prayag Datta District Nazir, Ajmer

PART III—contd.

AJMER.

Honorary Magistrate, 1st Class, Urban Area Dr. R. A. Heatley.

	<i>Section (A).</i>
	1. Rai Sahib Munshi Gopi Nath (Chairman).
	2. Mr. Hamid Ullah Khan.
	3. Rai Bahadur Seth Bhagchand Soni, M.L.A.
	4. Mr. Jagtamba Lal.
	<i>Section (B).</i>
Bench of Honorary Magistrates . . .	1. Khan Bahadur Syed Raza Husain (Chairman).
(The Chairmen of Sections exercise 1st class powers and other Magistrates 2nd class powers.)	2. Rai Sahib Bankeybehari Lal.
	3. Syed Mohammad Husain Chishti.
	4. Rai Bahadur Seth Gadhmal Lodha.
	<i>Section (C).</i>
	1. Khan Sahib Zahoor Masih (Chairman).
	2. B. Purshotam Das Bhargava.
	3. Khan Sahib Seth Abdul Latif Allarakha.
	4. Seth Hira Chand Sacheti.
	<i>Section (D).</i>
	1. M. Imdad Hussain Khan (Chairman).
	2. Khan Sahib Abdul Haq.
	3. Khan Sahib A. N. David.
	4. Rai Sahib P. Bhav Dutt.
Honorary Magistrates, 2nd class, to try Municipal cases.	1. Diwan Syed Aley Rasul Ali Khan.
	2. M. Mohammed Ghani Khan.
	3. M. Mahmud Ali.
	4. P. Harish Chander Bhargava.
	5. Mr. Durga Shanker.
	6. L. Shanker Lal.

NASIRABAD.

	<i>Section (A).</i>
	1 Khan Bahadur Rustomji C. Framji (Chairman).
	2 Seth Tara Chand.
Honorary Magistrates, 2nd class, Urban Area.	3 Mr. S. O. Nath.
	<i>Section (B).</i>
	1 Mr. Kishenlal (Chairman).
	2 Rai Sahib Durga Prasad.
	3 M. Shamsher Khan.

BEAWAR.

Honorary Magistrates, 2nd class, Urban Area.	Seth Vithal Das Rathi.
	Rai Sahib Byas Tansukh.
	Mr. Govind Prasad Kaushik, B.A.
	Rai Sahib Seth Moti Lal, Banker.
Honorary Magistrate, 3rd class, Urban Area.	Haji Sham-Shuddin Nuri.
Ditto. . . .	Seth Lal Chand.
Ditto. . . .	M. Mazharul Hasan.

PART III—*contd.*

Registration.

Registrar of Assurances	Mr. Akhtar Husain, I.C.S.
	{ Mr. Erachshah D. Mehta, B.A., LL.B. Nasirabad. (on leave).
	{ Mr. Jawahar Lal Rawat, M.A., LL.B., (offg.).
Sub-Registrars	{ Mr. Abdul Majid Khan, B.A., LL.B., Kekri & Deoli.
	{ Mr. Onkar Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Ajmer.
	{ M. Maharaj Narain, Beawar.
	{ M. Abdul Rauf, Todgarh.

Medical Department.

Civil Surgeon	Lt.-Col. R. Hay I.M.S.
Additional Civil Surgeon	Lt. C. L. Anderson, J.M.D.
Assistant Surgeons	{ Rai Sahib L. Suraj Narain, Ajmer. { Rai Sahib M. Suraj Narain, Beawar.

Education Department.

General.

Superintendent of Education, Delhi,	Mr. J. C. Chatterjee, M.A.
Ajmer-Merwara and Central India.	
District Inspector of Schools, Ajmer-Merwara.	Khan Sahib Moulvi Mohd. Ishaque Qoraisini, M.A., L.T.
Assistant District Inspector of Schools, Ajmer Circle.	Mr. Ale Nabi Pirzada, M.A., B.T.
Assistant District Inspector of Schools, Merwara Circle.	Pt. Gaja Nand, V.T.C. }
	* }
Inspectress, Girls Schools, Ajmer-Merwara	Mrs. D. N. Gaur, B.A., B.T.

Government College, Ajmer.

Principal	Mr. P. Seshadri, M.A.
Vice-Principal	Mr. Hari Prasad, B.Sc., F.C.S.
Professor of Mathematics	Mr. Bishamber Prasad, M.Sc.
Professor of Physics	Vacant.
Professor of Economics	Mr. K. S. Manker, M.A.
Professor of Persian	Moulvi Hamidullah Khan.
Professor of English	Mr. Shiv Shanker Mathur, M.A.
Professor of History	Mr. Karam Ghani Khan, M.A., L.T.
Professor of Biology	Mr. Kanhaya Lal Mathur, M.A.
Professor of Logic	Mr. Deoki Nandan Sharma, M.A., LL.B.
Professor of Sanskrit	Mr. Rameshwar Prasad Ojha, M.A.
Assistant Professor of Chemistry	*Mr. Shri Narain. B.Sc.
Assistant Professor of Physics	*Mr. Raj Kishore, M.Sc., L.T.
Assistant Professor of Biology	*Mr. Blauwar Lal Rawat, M.A. (on leave ex-India).
Offg. Assistant Professor of Biology	Mr. A. M. D'Rozario, M.Sc.
Assistant Professor of English	*Mr. Bhim Sen. M.A.
Assistant Professor of Mathematics	*Mr. P. Seshad
Demonstrator of Physics and Chemistry	*Mr. Kalipado

PART III—concl'd.

Education Department—cont'd.

Government High School, Ajmer.

Head Master Rai Sahib P. B Joshi, M A , B Sc.

Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer.

Head Master Khan Bahadur Syed Raza Husain, B.A ,
L T.

Government Normal High School, Ajmer

Head Master Mr. S C Chatterji, B Sc , L T , M.Ed

Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana (including Ajmer
Merwara), Central India and Gwalior

Chairman Mr J C Chatterjee, M A

Secretary Rai Sahib Madan Mohan Verma, M A.

Jail (Department)

Inspector General of Prisons . Mr B J K. Hallows, I C S

Superintendent of Ajmer Central Jail Lt -Col R Hay, I M S

Jailor Rai Bahadur M Raj Narain

PART IV.

Military Commanders and Formations.

SOUTHERN COMMAND.

General Officer Commanding-in-Chief.	Lieut-General Sir Ivo L. B. Vesey, K.C.B. K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O. (on leave to 1st to 12th August 1937).
Offg. General Officer Commanding-in-Chief.	Major General S. B. Pope, C.B., D.S.O., I.A.

Bombay District.

Commander	Major-General S. J. P. Scobell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., (on leave to 6th November 1937).
Offg : Commander	Brigadier T. S. Riddell-Webster, D.S.O., A.D.C.

Mhow Brigade Area.

Commander	Brigadier J. de L. Conry, C.I.E., I.A., (on leave pending retirement to 27th November 1937).
Offg : Commander	Brigadier A. H. H. Muir, C.I.E., O.B.E.
Brigade Major	Major J. B. Coates, M.C., The Queen's Royal Regiment. (On leave to 21st October 1937).
Offg : Brigade Major	Captain J. F. Kekwick, 4th Bn. 2nd Punjab Regiment.
Staff Captain	Captain J. F. Kekwick, 4th Bn. 2nd Punjab Regiment.
Offg : Staff Captain	Lieut : A. P. Johnson, 2nd Bn. The Suffolk Regiment.

Nasirabad.

Officer Commanding	Major E. F. O. Richards, M.C., 1st Bn. The Lincolnshire Regiment.
Station Staff Officer	Lieut E. D. C. Powell, 1st Bn. The Lincolnshire Regiment.
Executive Officer	Captain S. P. Singh.

Mount Abu.

Commandant Sanitarium and Officer Commanding	Captain L. B. Shepherd-Folker, 1st Bn. The Lincolnshire Regiment.
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Ajmer.

Officer Commanding	Major E. A. Hamlyn, 1st Bn. 4th Bombay Grenadiers.
Assistant Recruiting Officer, Rajputana and Central India. Headquarters, Ajmer.	Major N. E. I. Pocock, M.C., 2nd Bn. 6th Rajputana Rifles, (P.W.O.)

PART V.

Ecclesiastical.

Chaplains

Designation.	Name	Date of commencement of service.	Headquarters and Church.
Bishop of Nagpur	The Right Revd Alex Wood, D D, O B E	1st Nov 1926 .	Nagpur (Church of England).
Bishop of Bombay	The Right Revd Richard Dyke, Acland, M A	..	Bombay (Church of England)
Archdeacon of Nagpur.	Ven'ble F W Martin, M A, 'L Th	10th April 1918.	Nagpur
Chaplain . .	Revd W P Williams	8th March 1929.	Offg Archdeacon of Nagpur
Do . .	Revd J Barnes, I E E	..	Mount Abu.
Do . .	Revd R Eastwick .	4th October 1929	Nasirabad
Diocesan Chaplain	Revd S P Marris .	1918	Ajmer
Diocesan Chaplain	Revd J W. H Johnson	24th Dec 1933	Bandikui
	Do . .	..	Bharatpur.

PART VI.

Gradation List of Medical Officers with their record of service in Rajputana.

No	Name of Officer (with Army rank)	Present appointment.
1	Lieut Col R Hay, MB (Edin), DPH (Glasg), DTM & DTH (Liv)	C M O., Rajputana and Civil Surgeon, Ajmer Merwara
2	Lieut-Col W P Hogg, MC, MB, Ch B (Aberdeen), DTM & H (Eng), IMS	Residency Surgeon, Mewar, Udaipur, in visiting medical charge of the Mewar B.L. Corps Hospitals at Bherwara and Kotra

PART VI-A.

List showing the names of Government Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons serving in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara corrected up to 30th June 1937, with their appointments, pay, allowances, etc.

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART I		Rs.	Rs.	
	Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons employed by the British Government in Rajputana.				
	MILITARY ASSISTANT SURGEONS.				
	<i>First Class</i>				
1	Lieut. C. L. Anderson, I.M.D., Additional Civil Surgeon, Ajmer-Merwara (600—50—900).	(a) 6 Dec. 1881 (b) 31 Mar. 1905 (c) 23 May 1927 (d) 23 May 1931	900 S. P. 50	.. ..	Govt. College medical charge.
	<i>1st Class.</i>				
	CIVIL ASSISTANT SURGEONS. (250—12½—500.)				
1	Rai Sahib Dr. Suraj Narain, L.M.S. (Punj.), Beawar Dispensary.	(a) 25 July 1884 (b) 7 Feb. 1912 (c) 1 Mar. 1920 (d) 1 April 1933	500	..	..
2	Rai Bahadur Dr. Chhagan Nath, Lansdowne Hospital, Mewar State. (On Foreign service in Mewar.)	(a) 1885 (b) 14 May 1908 (c) 10 Sept. 1926 (d) 10 Sept. 1936	375 S. P. 100 Chitori.	..	For holding charge of Lansdowne Hospital.
3	Rai Sahib Dr. Suraj Narain Mathur, L. M. P. (Honours), D.T.M., Assistant Surgeon, Victoria Hospital, Ajmer (Provisional).	(a) 2 Feb. 1897 (b) 1 May 1918 (c) 1 May 1932 (d) 1 May 1937	312-8-0 S. P. 35	..	Medical charge of Government College and High School Hostels

PART VI-A—contd.

Name and appointment	(a) Date of birth by Christian era (b) Date of admission into service (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar (d) Date of promotion to present pay (e) Date of appointment to present post	Pay	Compensatory and other allowances	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned
2	3	4	5	6
PART I—contd SUB ASSISTANT SURGEONS <i>Selection Grade First Class</i> <i>Rs 200</i>		Rs	Rs	
Rai Sahb Suraj Narain Mathur, Victoria Hospital Ajmer (Provisional Assistant Surgeon)	(a) 2 Feb 1897 (b) 1 May 1918 (c) 12 June 1931 (d) Do	200		
Rai Sahib Govindlal, on foreign service under the Ajmer Municipality	(a) 10 Mar 1886 (b) 1 May 1910 (c) 1 Jan 1935 (d) Do (e) 12 Jan 1933	200 25%		Foreign service pay
<i>Selection Grade II Class,</i> <i>Rs 175</i>				
Bala Bux, Jail Hospital Ajmer	(a) 30 June 1885 (b) 1 May 1906 (c) 1 Jan 1935 (d) Do (e) 1 Sept 1934	175 S P 15 S P 20		Arduous nature of duties Normal School
Chhotu Bhai Shanker Bhai Victoria Hospital, Ajmer	(a) 1 Dec 1884 (b) 3 May 1909 (c) 1 Jan 1935 (d) Do	175	20	V H Fund allowance

PART VI-A—contd.

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay. (e) Date of appointment to present post.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART I—contd.		Rs.	Rs.	
	SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS —contd.				
	<i>S. A. S. on 70—5—90/5—115/ 5—140/5—160.</i>				
5	Dwarka Pershad, Residency Hospital, Udaipur.	(a) 13 June 1886 (b) 1 May 1909 (c) 1 May 1924 (d) 1 April 1937 (e) 15 Oct. 1935	145 S. P. 10	10	Arduous nature of duties. Detachment allowance. Compensatory. Arduous nature of duties.
6	Bansidhar, Pisangan Dispensary.	(a) 20 Nov. 1890 (b) 1 May 1911 (c) 1 May 1926 (d) 1 Apl. 1937 (e) 1st April 1936	145	10 3	Dispensary Fund. House-Rent.
7	Ram Ruxpal Shukla, Kekri Dispensary.	(a) 1 Mar. 1887 (b) 1 May 1911 (c) 1 May 1926 (d) 1 Apl. 1937 (e) 4 May 1933	145	15	Sanitary (Municipal).
8	Balwant Singh, Todgarh Dispensary.	(a) 29 Oct. 1888 (b) 1 May 1914 (c) 2 Apl. 1928 (d) 2 Apl. 1937 (e) 18 Oct. 1936	145	10	Dispensary Fund.
9	Samuel K. Malvia, Residency Hospital, Jaipur.	(a) 12 Feb. 1892 (b) 1 May 1914 (c) 1 May 1924 (d) 1 Apl. 1937 (e) 15 Oct. 1915	140 S. P. 15 S. P. 25	20	Arduous nature of duties Railway Palki allowance.

PART VI-A—contd.

Serial No	Name and appointment	(a) Date of birth by Christian era (b) Date of admission into service (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar (d) Date of promotion to present pay (e) Date of appointment to present post	Pay	Compensatory and other allowances	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART I—contd SUB ASSISTANT SURGEONS—contd		Rs	Rs	
10	Maha Narain, N I S R Dispensary, Pachbadra	(a) 20 Jan 1890 (b) 1 May 1915 (c) 4 Apl 1926 (d) 1 Apl 1937 (e) 17 Dec 1935	140 S P 25		Unhealthiness of the locality
11	Chhagan Behari Lal, Bhinai Dispensary	(a) 18 Feb 1898 (b) 1 May 1919 (c) 1 May 1924 (d) 1 Apl 1937 (e) 1 Jan 1933	140	10	Dispensary Fund.
12	L H Bishwas, Eastern Rajputana States Agency Hospital, Bhatatpur	(a) 22 Jan 1892 (b) 1 Feb 1919 (c) 1 Apl 1924 (d) 1 Apl 1932 (e) Jan 1923	115 S P 15		Arduous nature of duties and unhealthiness of locality.
13	Shiva Dayal, 1st S A S, Mewar Bhil Corps Hospital, Kherwara (Working in V H Ajmer)	(a) 13 Dec 1900 (b) 1 May 1921 (c) 10 Oct 1927 (d) 1 Oct 1936 (e) 24 Aug 1934	135		
14	Shiv Charan, Masuda Dispensary	(a) 9 Feb 1892 (b) 3 June 1919 (c) Do (d) 3 Apl 1937	115	10	Dispensary Fund
15	Syed Khurshed Husain, Charitable Dispensary Deoli	(a) 30 May 1895 (b) 1 Oct 1920 (c) 3 Oct 1932 (d) 3 Oct 1936 (e) 22 June 1932	115		

PART VI-A—contd.

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay. (e) Date of appointment to present post.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
PART I—contd.					
SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS—					
<i>contd.</i>					
16	Maharaj Saroop, Beawar Hospital.	(a) 8 May 1904 (b) 6 Mar. 1930 (c) Do. (d) 6 Mar 1937 (e) 19 Oct. 1936	105	15	Dispensary Fund.
17	Maharaj Narain, Victoria Hospital, Ajmer.	(a) 12 Jan. 1903 (b) 12 July 1930 (c) Do. 1930 (d) 12 July 1936	100	12	House rent.
18	Jyoti Prakash Do.	(a) 12 July 1903 (b) 23 Dec. 1930 (c) 23 Dec. 1932 (d) 23 Dec. 1936 (e) 5 Feby. 1933	100	15	Victoria Hospital Fund
19	Gokaran Das Baijal, M.B., B.S., D.P.H., Adams Memorial Hospital, Mount Abu.	(a) 2 Jan. 1905 (b) 5 May 1932 (c) Do. 1933 (d) 5 May 1936	130 S. P. 25 S. P. 10	30/10	Arduous nature of duties.
20	Kunjbiharilal 2nd S. As. Mewar Bhil Corps Hospital Kherwara.	(a) 22 Jan. 1908 (b) 9 Dec. 1932 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937	76 S. P. 25. S. P. 25	20 British coin.	2 Detachment. 3 Horse allowance, vaccination and acting allowance. Arduous nature of duties.
	Mohammad Usman, Police Hospital Ajmer. (Provisional.)	(a) 20 July 1900 (b) 20 Jan. 1933 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937 (e) 20 July 1936	76 S. P. 15	5	For additional charge paid from charitable dispensary fund, Palki allowance.
	Nasiruddin Ghorl, Mewar Bhil corps Hospital Kotra (officiating).	(a) (b) 12 Jan. 1935 (c) Do. (d) 12 Jan. 1937	68 S. P. 10	5	Cycle allowance.
					Compensatory allowance.

Nos. 14 and 16 have passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar at Rs. 115.
 Nos. 12, 15, 17, and 18 have not passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar
 at Rs. 115.

PART VI-A—*contd.*

Name and appointment	(a) Date of birth by Christian era (b) Date of admission into service (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for cross in the bar (d) Date of promotion to present pay (e) Date of appointment to present post	Pay	Compensatory and other allowances	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned
2	3	4	5	6
PART I—<i>concl'd</i> SUB ASSISTANT SURGEONS—<i>concl'd</i> RESERVE LIST		Rs	Rs	
Mr Ghulam Abbas	(a) 7 Nov 1911 (b) 28 Oct 1935 (c) Do (d) 28 Oct 1936 (e) Do	64	12	House rent
Mr Debi Lal (Provisional)	(a) 18 Nov 1914 (b) 8 Nov 1935 (c) Do (d) 8 Nov 1936 (e) Do	S P 64 15		
Bhawani Pershad Bannerji (Officiating)	(a) (b) 1 April 1936 (c) Do (d) 1 April 1937 (e) Do	64	12	House rent
PART II Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons on Foreign service of the 3rd kind under Article 426 of the C S R in the Indian States in Rajputana JAIPUR STATE S A S Selection Grade, II Class Rs 175				
Chand Behari Lal, Purani Basti Dispensary	(a) 9 Apl 1884 (b) 1 May 1906 (c) 7 Apl 1923 (d) 9 Sep 1935	175	10	Local Fund
S A S on 70—5—90/5—115/5—140/5—160 Moolchand Reserve list Dispensary (On leave)	(a) 11 Sep 1889 (b) 1 May 1907 (c) 5 Apl 1925 (d) 1 Apl 1935	135		
Serup Narain Mayo Hospital Jaipur 2nd Sub Assistant Surgeon	(a) 15 June 1891 (b) 1 May 1912 (c) 1 May 1927 (d) 1 Apl 1937	145	15	,

PART VI-A—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay. (e) Date of appointment to present post.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART I—contd. SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS— <i>contd.</i>		Rs.	Rs.	
16	Maharaj Saroop, Beawar Hospital.	(a) 8 May 1904 (b) 6 Mar. 1930 (c) Do. (d) 6 Mar 1937 (e) 19 Oct. 1936	105	15 12	Dispensary Fund. House rent.
17	Maharaj Narain, Victoria Hospital, Ajmer.	(a) 12 Jan. 1903 (b) 12 July 1930 (c) Do. 1930 (d) 12 July 1936	100		
18	Jyoti Prakash Do.	(a) 12 July 1903 (b) 23 Dec. 1930 (c) 23 Dec. 1932 (d) 23 Dec. 1936 (e) 5 Feby. 1933	100	15 12	Victoria Hospital Fund allowance; House rent.
19	Gokaran Das Baijal, M.B., B.S., D.P.H., Adams Memorial Hospital, Mount Abu.	(a) 2 Jan. 1905 (b) 5 May 1932 (c) Do. 1933 (d) 5 May 1936	130 S. P. 25 S. P. 10	30/10 25	Arduous nature of duties. 2 Detachment. 3 Horse allowance, vaccination and acting allowance.
20	Kunjbiharilal 2nd S. As. Mewar Bhil Corps Hospital Kherwara.	(a) 22 Jan. 1908 (b) 9 Dec. 1932 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937	76 S. P. 25. S. P. 25	20 British coin.	Arduous nature of duties. For additional charge paid from charitable dispensary fund, Palki allowance.
	Mohammad Usman, Police Hospital Ajmer. (Provisional.)	(a) 20 July 1900 (b) 20 Jan. 1933 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937 (e) 20 July 1936	76 S. P. 15	5	Cycle allowance.
	Nasiruddin Ghori, Mewar Bhil corps Hospital Kotra (officiating).	(a) (b) 12 Jan. 1935 (c) Do. (d) 12 Jan. 1937	68 S. P. 10	5	Compensatory allowance.

Nos. 14 and 16 have passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar at Rs. 115.
 Nos. 12, 15, 17, and 18 have not passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar at Rs. 115.

PART VI-A—*contd.*

1 Serial No.	2 Name and appointment	3 (a) Date of birth by Christian era (b) Date of ad- mission into service (c) Date of pro- motion to present rank or of qualify- ing for cross- ing the bar (d) Date of pro- motion to present pay (e) Date of ap- pointment to present post	4 Pay	5 Compensa- tory and other al- lowances	6 Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned
	PART I—<i>conold</i> SUB ASSISTANT SURGEONS— <i>conold</i> RESERVE LIST		Rs	Rs	
1	Mr Ghulam Abbas	(a) 7 Nov 1911 (b) 28 Oct 1935 (c) Do (d) 28 Oct 1936 (e) Do	64	12	House rent
2	Mr Debi Lal (Provisional)	(a) 18 Nov 1914 (b) 8 Nov 1935 (c) Do (d) 8 Nov 1936 (e) Do	64 S P 15		
3	Bhawani Pershad Bannerji (Officiating)	(a) Do (b) 1 April 1936 (c) Do (d) 1 April 1937 (e) Do	64	12	House rent
	PART II Assistant Surgeons and Sub- Assistant Surgeons on Foreign service of the 3rd kind under Article 426 of the C S R in the Indian States in Rajputana JAIPUR STATE S A S, Selection Grade, II Class, Rs 175				
1	Chand Behari Lal, Purani Basti Dispensary	(a) 9 Apl 1884 (b) 1 May 1906 (c) 7 Apl 1923 (d) 9 Sep 1935	175	10	Local Fund
	S A S on 70-5-90/5-115/ 5-140/5-160				
2	Mool Chand Reserve list, Dis- pensary (On leave)	(a) 11 Sep 1882 (b) 1 May 1907 (c) 5 Apl 1925 (d) 1 Apl 1935	135		
3	Sarup Narain Mayo Hospital, Jaipur, 2nd Sub Assistant Surgeon	(a) 15 June 1891 (b) 1 May 1912 (c) 1 May 1927 (d) 1 Apl 1937	145	15	

PART VI-A—contd.

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay. (e) Date of appointment to present post.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART I—contd. SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS—contd.		Rs.	Rs.	
16	Maharaj Saroop, Beawar Hospital.	(a) 8 May 1904 (b) 6 Mar. 1930 (c) Do. (d) 6 Mar 1937 (e) 19 Oct. 1936	105	15 12	Dispensary Fund. House rent.
17	Maharaj Narain, Victoria Hospital, Ajmer.	(a) 12 Jan. 1903 (b) 12 July 1930 (c) Do. 1930 (d) 12 July 1936	100		
18	Jyoti Prakash Do.	(a) 12 July 1903 (b) 23 Dec. 1930 (c) 23 Dec. 1932 (d) 23 Dec. 1936 (e) 5 Feb. 1933	100	15 12	Victoria Hospital Fund allowance. House rent.
19	Gokaran Das Baijal, M.B., B.S., D.P.H., Adams Memorial Hospital, Mount Abu.	(a) 2 Jan. 1905 (b) 5 May 1932 (c) Do. 1933 (d) 5 May 1936	130 S. P. 25 S. P. 10	30/10 25	Arduous nature of duties. 2 Detachment. 3 Horse allowance, vaccination and acting allowance. Arduous nature of duties.
20	Kunjbiharilal 2nd S. As. Mewar Bhil Corps Hospital Kherwara.	(a) 22 Jan. 1908 (b) 9 Dec. 1932 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937	76 S. P. 25. S. P. 25	20 British coin.	For additional charge paid from charitable dispensary fund, Palki allowance.
	Mohammad Usman, Police Hospital Ajmer. (Provisional.)	(a) 20 July 1900 (b) 20 Jan. 1933 (c) 15 Oct. 1935 (d) 20 Jan. 1937 (e) 20 July 1936	76 S. P. 15	5	Cycle allowance.
	Nasiruddin Ghori, Mewar Bhil corps Hospital Kotra (officiating).	(a) (b) 12 Jan. 1935 (c) Do. (d) 12 Jan. 1937	68 S. P. 10	5	Compensatory allowance.

Nos. 14 and 16 have passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar at Rs. 115.
Nos. 12, 15, 17, and 18 have not passed the examination required to cross the efficiency bar at Rs. 115.

PART VI-A

	1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16
	17	18	19	20
	21	22	23	24
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	33	34	35	36
	37	38	39	40
	41	42	43	44
	45	46	47	48
	49	50	51	52
	53	54	55	56
	57	58	59	60
	61	62	63	64
	65	66	67	68
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PART VI-A—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay.	Pay.	Compensatory and other allowances.	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	PART II— <i>contd.</i>				
	JAIPUR STATE— <i>contd.</i>				
4	Rambilas, Mayo Hospital, Jaipur, 3rd Sub-Assistant Surgeon.	(a) 21 Oct. 1891 (b) 21 Dec. 1914 (c) 6 Apl. 1925 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	15	Local.
5	Mohan Lal Mathur I, Kotputli Dispensary.	(a) 23 Aug. 1891 (b) 1 May 1917 (c) 1 May 1922 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	10	"
6	Ghayur Mahamed, Sri Madhopur Dispensary.	(a) 5 Feb. 1891 (b) 1 May 1917 (c) 2 Apl. 1923 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	10	"
7	Mohan Lal Mathur II, Dispensary, Khetri.	(a) 4 Nov. 1897 (b) 1 May 1918 (c) 1 May 1923 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	5	"
8	Mitha Lal, Jamwa Ramgarh Dispensary	(a) 13 Mar. 1895 (b) 1 May 1919 (c) 1 May 1924 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	5	"
9	Hari Narain Jai Narain, Chomu Dispensary.	(a) 4 Aug. 1893 (b) 9 Oct. 1919 (c) 11 Mar. 1927 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	10	"
10	Mahommed Abdul Latif, Moti Kutra Dispensary.	(a) 7 Mar. 1899 (b) 1 May 1920 (c) 5 May 1925 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	10	"
11	Hari Narain, Mayo Hospital, Jaipur.	(a) 20 Mar. 1893 (b) 11 Mar. 1919 (c) 11 Mar. 1927 (d) 1 Apl. 1937	140	15 15	Local. Medical Store

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PART VI-A—concl'd.

Serial No. 1	Name and appointment.	(a) Date of birth by Christian era. (b) Date of admission into service. (c) Date of promotion to present rank or of qualifying for crossing the bar. (d) Date of promotion to present pay. 3	Pay. 4	Compensatory or other allowances. 5	Purpose for which allowance or special pay was sanctioned 6
	<p align="center">PART II—concl'd.</p> <p align="center">KOTAH STATE.</p> <p align="center">SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS.</p> <p align="center"><i>Selection Grade, 1st Class, Rs. 200.</i></p>		Rs.	Rs.	
16	Chhnail Behari Lal II, City Hospital, Kotah.	(a) 8 Sept. 1885 (b) 1 May 1906 (c) 1 Oct. 1925 (d) 21 Feb. 1932	200	10 15 25	Local. Observatory. Municipal.
17	Bishan Lal, City Hospital, Kotah.	(a) 15 June 1884 (b) 1 May 1907 (c) 2 Apr. 1927 (d) 12 June 1931	175	10 25	Local. Municipal.

PART VII

Police-Works Department.

No.	Name	Rank or Position	Remarks
1	Karlax Palakhar T. S. M.A., C.I.E. I & I	Superintending Inspector	In-charge, Central P. W. D., New Delhi.
2	Karlax Sahib Karlax Utran Khan	Inspector, Police	In-charge, Ahmednagar Central Prison.
3	Raj Palakhar Rao Sahib	Asst. Inspector	In-charge, Ahmednagar District Prison.
4	Karlax Gendhar Singh	Sub-Inspector Prison	In-charge, Ahmednagar District Prison.
5	Mr. Pyare Lal Gupta	Section Officer	Muz. Secy.

PART VII

Public Works Department

No	Name	Grade in Department	Remarks
1	Sardar Bahadur T S Malik C.I.E I.S.E	Superintending Engineer	Second Circle Central P W. D New Delhi
2	Sardar Sahib Sardar Uttam Singh	Executive Engineer	In charge Ajmer Central Division
3	Rai Bahadur Ram Sahai	Asstt Engineer	In charge, Ajmer I Sub Division
4	Sardar Gurdit Singh	Sub Divisional Officer	In charge, Ajmer II Sub Division
5	Mr Pyare Lal Gupta	Section Officer	Mount Abu

PART VIII.

Rajputana Agency, Railway and Ajmer-Merwara Police.

No.	Name.	Appointment and Station.	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
1	R. S. Bell, I.P.	Inspector-General of Railway Police and Police Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana, Mount Abu.	20-11-1935	
2	Mr. J. F. Conlin, M.C., I.P.	Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, Ajmer.	12-10-1936	
3	Mr. L. C. F. Robins, I.P.	Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Indore.	5-3-1937	
4	Khan Sahib M. Mumtaz Hussain.	Deputy Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department and City, Ajmer.	6-4-1935	
5	Mr. G. T. Beer	Offg. Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, Ajmer.	17-3-1933	
6	Mr. C. A. Grant	Deputy Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Indore.	1-3-1934	
7	Mr. A. W. J. Browne	Offg. Deputy Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Ajmer.	24-3-1935	
8	Mr. E. R. Claudius.	Reserve Inspector, Ajmer-Merwara Police, Ajmer.	17-3-1933	
9	Rao Sahib Lachhman Singh.	Circle Inspector		On deputation to foreign service under the Merwar Darbar for 7 years from 23rd September

PART VIII—contd.

No	Name	Appointment and Station	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
Inspectors				
10	K Fateh Singh	Prosecuting Inspector, Government Railway Police, Ajmer	27-2-1936	
11	M. Harnam Dass	Inspector, C I D Ajmer	1-5 1937	
12	Khan Sahib Syed Ahmed	Circle Inspector, Nasirabad	1-7-1929	
13	M Raghunath Das Ranga	Prosecuting Inspector, Ajmer Merwara Police, Ajmer	1-5-1937	
14	M. Abbas Ali	Circle Inspector, Merwara, Beawar.	22-12 27	On deputation to the Rajputana and Central India Opium Contraband Department as Superintendent, Bureau, from 1st Aug 1934.
15	Pt. Thakur Prasad	Circle Inspector, Merwara, Beawar.	1-7-1933	
16	S. Ishwar Singh	Inspector, Criminal Investigation Department, Ajmer.	1-8-1936	
Office Staff.				
17	Mr. R A Davies	Office Superintendent to the Inspector General of Railway Police and Police Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana, Mount Abu.	7-7-1923	

PART VIII-A.

Rajputana and Central India Opium Contraband Department.

1	Mr. R. S. Bell, I.P.	Director	20-11-1935	Mount Abu.
2	M. Abbas Ali .	Superintendent, Bureau .	1-8-1934	Ajmer.
3	B. Shyam Sarup Verma.	Sub-Inspector . . .	8-11-1935	Ajmer.
4	M. Ali Asghar .	Ditto	4-2-1936	Ujjain.
5	M. Aitezad Ahmed Khan.	Ditto	30-11-1932	Rutlam.
6	B. Gurubaksh Rai Bhalla	Ditto	7-5-1937	Jaipur.
7	M. Ram Swarup .	Ditto	24-8-1936	Kotah.

PART IX

The Mayo College Ajmer

*Founded in 1875 for the education of the sons of the Princes Chiefs and leading
Thakurs of Pajputana)*

STAFF OF THE MAYO COLLEGE

No	Name	Designation	Date of appointment	Emoluments
1	Mr V A S Storer MA (Oxon) CIE IES	Principal	11 Feb 1907	Ra 100+£30 S O P
2	Mr A A R tch e MA BSc IES	Vice Principal	21 Mar 1915	150+£30 S O P (on leave preparatory to retirement) 1500
3	Lt Col G Howson CIE MC (I A Retd)	Offg Vice Principal	21 Jan 1903	1500
4	Mr W H Bradshaw BA (Oxon)	English Assistant Master	8 July 1934	850
	Mr J A M Ede BA (Cantab)	Do	7 Oct 1935	800
6	Mr H K Kefford MA (Cantab)	Addl English Assistant Master	1 April 1935	250
7	Mr Asafque Hussain BA (Oxon)*	Assistant Vaiden Colv n House	7 July 1934	375—25 500
8	T Madan Singh MA LLB*	Lecturer	11 Sep 1928	375—25—500
9	Mr K K Andey MA*	Do	1 Feb 1935	150
10	Mr J P Jain MA LLB*	Lecturer	1 Nov 1936	150 +100 A W s allowance
11	M Syed Abdul Wahid MA	Indian Assistant	16 July 1910	375—25—500
12	Vacant	Do		270—26—400
13	Vacant	Do		270—26—400
14	L Harcharan Das BA LT	Do	3 July 1910	150—25—300
15	L Shri Krishna Agarwal MA	Do	1 Nov 1929	150—25—300 (on deputation to Oel and Kaurmah estates)
16	Mr Narayan Prasad Mathur BA B Com	Do	01 Oct 1929	150—25—300
17	Mr N Ghose BSc	Do	14 July 1930	150—25—300
18	Mr Mahabir Dayal MA	Do	14 July 1930	150—25—300
19	Sardar Sadhu Singh	Do	10 Oct 1907	100—20—200
20	L Dan Mal BSc BT	Do	1 July 1932	150—25—250
21	Mr V dya Sagar Bhatia MA BT	Do	1 July 1932	150—25 250
22	Mr M N Kapur MSc T Dp (Lon) M R S T	Do	6 July 1933	150—25—250
23	Mr A Sherman MA	Do	1 Aug 1935	150 Provisional
24	Mr Raghubir Dayal MA	Do	20 Jan. 1936	150 Provisional
25	Mr Ram Prasad Garg MA LLB	Do	6 July 1936	100 Temporary
26	Mr Gulab Das Badgel M S LLB	Do	17 Aug 1936	100 Temporary

PART X.

Mewar Bhil Corps.

Raised in 1840 under its present designation by Captain W. Hunter, under the superintendence of Colonel A. Spiers, Political Agent at Neemuch. Converted into Military Police Battalion from 1st April 1908.

Headquarters—Kherwara. *Detachments*—Kotra, Udaipur, Mount Abu, Ajmer and Kushalgarh.

Strength—4 Subadars, 9 Jemadars, 31 Havildars, 30 Naiks, 13 Buglers and 463 Sepoys.

(Under the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana.)

1st Commission or date of entering service.	Name and rank.	Army rank.	Present appointment in Mewar Bhil Corps.	Remarks.
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Commandant.

9 Jan. '15.	Maxwell, Major James Ferris, A.I.R.O.	14 Jan. '33	13 June '32	Commandant at Kherwara and Assistant to the Resident in Mewar. Holds additional charge of the post of Assistant Commandant, Kherwara.
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Assistant Commandant.

27 Oct. '16.	Bazett, Major Lanecot Young, I.A.	27 Oct. '34	30 May '34	Assistant Commandant at Kotra. On leave <i>ex-India</i> for 3 months and 2 days from 30th April 1937
17 July '20.	Mohd. Ayub Khan, Captain, M.B.E. Sam Browne's Cavalry (12th F. F.).	17 July '27	28 Mar. '37	Assistant Commandant, Kotra.

Medical Officer.

13 March '16.	Hogg, Lt.-Col. W. P., D.S.O., M.C., M.B., Ch. B. (Aberd.), D.T.M. & H., I.M.S.	..	19 April '36	In visiting Medical Charge of the Corps as Residency Surgeon in Mewar.
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Subadar-Major.

Nov. '01.	Rai Sahib Ramdhani	29 May '14	1 Dec. '29
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Subadars.

(*Jemadars.*) (*Subadars.*)

July '12.	Baij Nath Mishra	1 May '19	15 Jan. '22
Feb. '12.	Amra	15 Feb. '31	15 Feb. '34
Sep. '16.	Rupa	1 Dec. '29	11 Dec. '36

Jemadars.

Nov. '19	Badda	1 July '32
11 Jan. '15.	Homa	14 May '33
10 Feb. '15	Lalu	20 June '34
1 Jan. '19.	Rupji	1 June '35
8 Mar. '21.	Toza	1 Aug. '35
23 Jan. '22.	Hurma	1 Mar. '36
12 Dec. '25.	Chatar Singh	14 Aug. '36
16 Jan. '25.	Moga	11 Dec. '36
12 Sep. '19.	Nathu	16 Mar. '37

PART XI.

INDIAN STATES FORCES

ALWAR

Army Minister.

Mantra Pravin Lt Col Dhabai Gareshi Lal, C I.F

Headquarters Staff, Alwar State Forces

Date of entering service	Name and Rank	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank	Remarks.
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Senapati (Commander in-Chief)

13 May 1922	Col Abdul Rehman Khan O B I	13 May 1922	15 June 1931	
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Staff Officer

20 Feby 1934	2nd Lt Gokal Ram	2 March 1935	23 March 1935	
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State Signalling Officer

1 June 1910	Jamadar Mohammed Shah	2 October 1917	2 October 1927	
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Alwar Mangal Lancers

Organization—H Q & 2 Troops

Uniform—Red.

Strength—86

Facings—Blue

Raised at Alwar in 1884

Reorganized as Imperial Service Troops in 1888

Reorganized as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment in 1922.

Composition—(Rajputs and Mohammedans) Mixed

Commandant

4 May 1906	Capt Vikram Singh	4 May 1916	1 Jan 1935	
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Alwar Jey Paltan

Organization—H Q, H Q Wing and 4 Coy

Uniform—Scarlet.

Strength—771

Facings—White

Raised at Alwar in 1825 by His Highness Shri Sewai Maharaj Shri Vinay Singhj

Army Establishment in 1922

ts, 1 Platoon Jats 1 Platoon

Ahirs and 1 Platoon Mohammedans

B Company—Ditto

C Company—1 Platoon Rajputs 1 Platoon Gujar,

Platoon Misc Hindus and 1 Platoon Mohammedans.

D Company—Ditto

H Q Wing—Mixed

PART XI—contd.**Alwar—contd.****Alwar Jey Paltan—contd.**

Date of entering service.	Name and Rank.	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank.	Remarks.
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Commandant.

4 May 1934	Lt.-Col. Sanwar Chand Bahadur, I.D.S.M.	9 June 1919	10 Feb. 1935	
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2nd-in-Command.

1 Dec. 1936	Major Nuruddin Bahadur.	1 Dec. 1936	1 Dec. 1936	
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Company Commanders.

14 Dec. 1906	Capt. Mukh Ram	10 May 1922	10 Aug. 1936	
8 Dec. 1917	Capt. Kamal Singh	12 Dec. 1922	10 Aug. 1930	
5 Apl. 1912	Capt. Nathu Ram	29 Nov. 1926	6 Dec. 1932	
20 Apl. 1912	Lt. Bambu Lal	12 Dec. 1922	6 Feb. 1932	Offg.

Adjutant.

14 Nov. 1935	Capt. Khalil-ur-rahman	15 Feb. 1928	6 Nov. 1935	On loan from I. A.
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Quarter Master.

12 Feb. 1917	Lt. Man Singh	7 July 1923	2 Aug. 1927	
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Alwar Pratap Paltan.

Organization—H. Q. Training Company and one Duty Company.

Uniform—Peacock Blue.

Strength—286.

Facings—White.

Raised at Alwar in 1919 by Col. His Highness Shri Sewai Maharaj Dev Sir Jey Singhji, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

organized as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment in 1922.

Composition—Same as in Jey Paltan.

Commandant.

1919	Major Madho Singh	31 Oct. 1919	12 Feb. 1935	
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Company Commanders.

9 Sep. 1917	Captain Nasir Ali	29 Nov. 1926	1 Sep. 1936	
20 Feb. 1934	2nd Lt. Bhom Singh	6 Nov. 1935	6 Nov. 1935	Offg.

Adjutant.

20 Feb. 1934	2nd Lt. Gahsi Ram	23 Mar. 1935	23 Mar. 1935	Offg.
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Alwar Garrison Force.

3 Nov. 1914	Th. Sher Singh Qiladar	13 Nov. 1914	13 Nov. 1914	
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PART XI—*contd.*Alwar—*concl'd.*

Date of entering service	Name and Rank	Date of first Commission	Army Rank	Remarks
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Alwar Military Station Hospital.

Commandant.

15 July 1936	Captain K L Jetley, M B B S	15 July 1936	15 July 1936	
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Alwar Veterinary Hospital (Military).

1 Dec 1936	Jamadar Mohammad Suleman Khan	1 Dec 1936	1 Dec 1936	
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BHARATPUR

Bharatpur Jaswant Household Infantry.

Centre—Bharatpur

*Uniform—Scarlet
Facings—Yellow.*

Regimental Strength—656.

Commandant	Lieut Col Piara Singh Bahadur, O B I
Second in Command	Major Kunwar Bijai Bahadur Singh
Adjutant	Vacant
Quarter Master	Lieut Mangal Singh
Signalling Officer	2nd Lieut Raghuvindra Singh
	{ Captain Kr. Harnath Singh
Company Commanders	{ Captain Ramjilal
	{ Captain Nawab Singh
Medical Officer	S A S Khushal Singh Yadav
Jaswant Garrison Company, Bharatpur Headquarters—Bharatpur.	

Strength—107

Uniform—Scarlet

Facings—Yellow

Officer Commanding

Captain Balwant Singh

Bharatpur Body Guard Troop Headquarters—Bharatpur.

Strength—29

Uniform—Blue

Facings—Yellow

Officer Commanding

Captain Amar Singh (on deputation from
the Jaswant Household Infantry)

BIKANER

Bikaner State Forces

Commander-in-Chief

Lieutenant General His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Narendra
Shromani Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur GCSI, GCIE GCVO, GBE,
KCB, ADC, LL D, Maharajah of Bikaner, Honorary Colonel, 2nd Lancers,
Colonel in Chief, Ganga Risala (Camel Corps) and Sadul Light Infantry

Headquarters Staff—Bikaner State Forces

General Officer Commanding the State Army Major General Rao Bahadur Thakur
Hari Singhji of Sattasar, CIE,
OBE

Chief of the Staff Col Jaideo Singh Sardar Bahadur, O B I

Brigade Major Vacant

PART XI—contd.**Alwar—contd.****Alwar Jey Paltan—contd.**

Date of entering service.	Name and Rank.	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank,	Remarks.
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Commandant.

1 May 1934 .	Lt.-Col. Sansar Chand Bahadur, I.D.S.M.	9 June 1910	10 Feb. 1935	
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2nd-in-Command.

1 Dec. 1936	Major Nuruddin Bahadur.	1 Dec. 1936	1 Dec. 1936	
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Company Commanders.

4 Dec. 1906	Capt. Mukh Ram	16 May 1922	10 Aug. 1936	
1 Dec. 1917	Capt. Kamal Singh	12 Dec. 1922	10 Aug. 1930	
1 Apl. 1912	Capt. Nathu Ram	29 Nov. 1926	6 Dec. 1932	
20 Apl. 1912	Lt. Bambu Lal	12 Dec. 1922	6 Feb. 1932	Offg.

Adjutant.

14 Nov. 1935	Capt. Khalil-ur-rahman	15 Feb. 1928	6 Nov. 1935	On loan from I. A.
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Quarter Master.

12 Feb. 1917	Lt. Man Singh	7 July 1923	2 Aug. 1927	
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Alwar Pratap Paltan.

Organization—H. Q. Training Company and one Duty Company.

Uniform—Peacock Blue.

Strength—286.

Facings—White.

Raised at Alwar in 1919 by Col. His Highness Shri Sewai Maharaj Dev, Sir Jey Singhji, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Reorganized as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment in 1922.

Composition—Same as in Jey Paltan.

Commandant.

1919 .	Major Madho Singh	31 Oct. 1919	12 Feb. 1935	
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Company Commanders.

19 Sep. 1917.	Captain Nasir Ali	29 Nov. 1926	1 Sep. 1936	
20 Feb. 1934.	2nd Lt. Bhom Singh	6 Nov. 1935	6 Nov. 1935	Offg.

Adjutant.

20 Feb. 1934	2nd Lt. Gahsi Ram	23 Mar. 1935	23 Mar. 1935	Offg.
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Alwar Garrison Force.

3 Nov. 1914.	Th. Sher Singh Qiladar	13 Nov. 1914	13 Nov. 1914	
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PART XI—contd.**Bikaner—contd****Squadron Officer**

Date of entering service.	Name and Rank	Date of first appointment to Regiment	Date of present appointment in Regiment	Remarks
1 June 1920	Lt Raghunath Singh	7 Oct 1935	3 Oct 1927	
10 May 1929	Lt Rajwari Singh of Nand Singh of Alwar	10 May 1929	22 July 1930	(28)

Adjutant

Vacant

Bikaner Ganga Risala.*Present Location*—Bikaner (B S Railway)*Uniform*—White*Organisation*—H Q Wing and 2 Companies (Mounted)*Facings*—Red*Strength*—466*Raised in* 1889

Reorganised as Indian State Forces in 1923

"China—1900", "Somaliland—1901-04", "Great War",

"Suez Canal", "Egypt—1915-17"

Colonel-in-Chief

Lieutenant General His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shiroman Maharaja Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, GBE KCB, ADC, LLD, Maharaja of Bikaner

Commandant.

10 April 1914	Rao Bahadur Col Thakur Balu Singh, Sardar Bahadur, OBI, IDSM	10 April 1914	1 Nov 1919	(5) (11) (43) Order of British India 1st Class
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2nd-in-Command

Vacant

Company Commanders

May 1898	Major Johri Singh Bahadur, IDSM	22 April 1911	17 Oct 1934	(16) (18) (43) OBE, 2nd Class
1 Oct 1925	Capt Khem Singh	1 Oct 1925	7 Oct 1935	(3), (43)

PART XI—*contd.*Bikaner—*concl'd.*

Company Officer.

Date of entering service.	Name and Rank.	Date of first appointment to Regiment.	Date of present appointment in Regiment.	Remarks.
6 Jan'y. 1920 .	Capt. Madho Singh .	6 Jan'y. 1920 .	17 Oct. 1934 .	(17)
25 Dec. 1913 .	2nd-Lt. Dhaney Singh .	15 Dec. 1913 .	1 July 1928 .	(3)
1 July 1928 .	Lt. Poon Singh .	1 July 1928 .	17 Oct. 1934 .	(3), (33), (48).
Adjutant.				
1 Oct. 1931 .	Lt. Raju Singh .	1 Oct. 1931 .	Jan. 1935 .	

Bikaner Sadul Light Infantry.

Present Location—Bikaner (B. S. Railway).

Uniform—Scarlet.

Organisation—H. Q. and 3 Companies.

Facings—Yellow.

Strength—619

Band—35.

Formed in 1839 from the selected Regiments called Beras existing since 1465.

Designated as Sadul Light Infantry 1910.

Reorganised as Imperial Service Troops, 11th January 1910.

Reorganised as Indian State Forces in 1923.

Battle Honours: "The Great War", "Suez Canal", "Egypt 1915-17",

"First Sikh War 1845-46", "Second Sikh War 1848-49", "Mutiny 1857-58".

Colonel-in-Chief.

Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shiromani
 Maharaja Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E.,
 K.C.B., LL.D., Maharaja of Bikaner, Hony. Col., 2nd Lancers.

Honorary Colonel.

Captain Maharaj Kumar Shri Sadul Singhji Bahadur, C.V.O.

Date of entering service.	Name and Rank.	Date of first appointment to Regiment.	Date of present appointment in Regiment.	Remarks.
Commandant.				
Aug. 1899 .	Lt.-Col. Jawahir Singh (Offg.).	6 May 1911	28 Sep. 1933 .	(16), (18), (43) O.B.I., 2nd class. (Offg.)
Company Commanders.				
17 Feb. 1908 .	Major Jodh Singh .	1 Nov. 1916 .	1 Oct. 1925 .	(10).
1 Oct. 1905 .	Capt. Kishore Singh .	1 Oct. 1925 .	7 Oct. 1935 .	
1 June 1931 .	Lt. Hukam Singh (Acting).	22 July 1932 .	17 Oct. 1934 .	(3).
Adjutant.				
10 May 1929 .	2nd-Lt. Amar Singh .	10 May 1929 .	22 July 1934 .	(3) Acting.
Company Officer.				
30 Aug. 1928 .	2nd-Lt. Bijey Singh .	30 Aug. 1928 .	22 July 1929	

PART XI - cont'd**JAIPUR****Jaipur State Forces***Chief Commandant*

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur

Head Quarters Staff

Officer in Brigade Waiting	Capt Mr Durga Das
Staff Captain	Capt Sardar Sahib Piyara Singh
Brigade Signalling Officer	Hony Lt Raj Singh Gurang

Jaipur Lancers*Raised on 1st December 1925**Composition— $\frac{3}{4}$ Squadron Rajputs and $\frac{1}{4}$ Squadron Muhammadans*

Commandant	Lt Col C O B Daunt M C
Second in Command	Major K Ram Singh
Adjutant	Lt K Pirthi Singh B A
Quarter Master	2nd Lt Thakur Ram Singh
Squadron Commanders	{ Captain Sardar Sahib Piyara Singh (Seconded as Staff Captain Jaipur State Forces)
	{ Captain Thakur Ganpat Singh
	{ Captain Kanwar Hanuman Singh
	{ Captain Kanwar Amar Singh
	{ Lt Sawai Singh
Squadron Officers	{ Captain K. Parbat Singh (Seconded as A D C to His Highness)
	{ Hony Captain Thakur Mangal Singh of Khood (Seconded as A D C to H H)
	{ Lt Mohan Singh
	{ Lt Kanwar Kushal Singh
	{ 2nd Lt Mehtab Singh
	{ 2nd Lt R. Kuver Singh
	{ 2nd Lt Ratan Singh
	{ 2nd Lt R. Kalyan Singh
Veterinary Officer	Jamadar V A S H. B Dey, G B V C
Signalling Officer	Lt Tej Singh

PART XI—contd.**Jaipur—contd.****Sawai Man Guards.***Raised in 1932.*

Commandant	His Highness the Colonel.
2nd-in-Command	Major R. Arisal.
Company Commanders	Major Raj Kumar Prithi Singh of Baria (Seconded on H. H.'s Personal Staff). Captain Ranjit Singh. Capt. Harnath Singh.
Adjutant and Quarter Master	Captain Shardul Singh. [Captain Durga Dass (Seconded as Officer-in-Brigade Waiting in Head- quarters, Jaipur Army). Lt. Gulab Singh. Lt. Rao Bahadur Man Singh of Barwara. Lt. Prithi Singh. Lt. Harnath Singh.
Platoon Commanders	[Lt. Raj Singh I. Lt. Shiv Singh. Lt. Sultan Singh. Lt. Raj Singh II. 2nd Lt. Takhat Singh. 2nd Lt. Sanwal Singh. 2nd Lt. Narpal Singh. 2nd Lt. Zorawar Singh.

1st Battalion, Jaipur Infantry.*Raised on 1st December 1923.*

Composition—5 Platoons Rajputs, 3 Platoons Mohammadans, 2 Platoons Jats and 2 Platoons Gujar.

Commandant	Lt.-Col. R. P. T. French, M. C.
2nd-in-Command	Captain B. P. Walawalkar. (1) Captain K. Devi Singh. (2) Captain Allah Ditta Khan. (3) Captain Bahuran Singh, B.A. (4) Captain K. Raghunath Singh.
Company Commanders	[Lt. Puran Singh Thapa. Lt. K. Jaswant Singh. Lt. Bishwanath Singh.
Adjutant	[Lt. K. Jai Singh.
Quarter Master	[Lt. Shimbhoo Singh. Lt. T. Kishan Singh. Lt. Saadat Ali.
Company Officers	

2nd Battalion, Jaipur Infantry.*Raised in 1932.*

Commandant	Major Lakhi Ram Bahadur, M.C., M.V.O., I.D.S.M.
2nd-in-Command	Capt. Sawai Singh.
Adjutant and Quarter Master	Lt. Zahir Ali Syed.
Wing Officer	2nd-Lt. Budhpal Singh.

Jaipur—concl'd
Jaipur Transport Corps.
Composition—Mixed
Raised in 1889

Commandant	.	.	.	.	1st Lt. H. M. Smith, OPI, IDSM.
Quartermaster	.	.	.	.
Adjutant	.	.	.	.
Medical Officer	.	.	.	.
Veterinary Officer	.	.	.	.

Artillery Magazine

Commandant
2nd in Command

Lansdowne "

Commandant .
2nd-in Command

Medical Officers

JODHPUR—Jodhpur State Forces

Commander-in-Chief

Colonel His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja Dhiraja Sir Umair Singh Bahadur,
GCSI, GCIE, KCVO, Colonel in Chief, Jodhpur Sardar Risala and
Jodhpur Sardar Infantry

Military Adviser

Brigadier R C Duncan M V O, O B E
Sardar Bisala.

Colonel in Chief

Sardar Risala

Raised in 1888 Strength—573 excluding followers

Present Location—Jodhpur (J Railway) *Uniform*—Khaki *Facings*—Khaki

Organisation—H Q Wing and 4 Squadrons

Reorganised in February 1922 as one Regiment Indian States Forces on Indian

Composition—H. 'Ginayat Rajputa.

Commandant

Second in Command

Squadron Commanders

Squadron Officers

Brigade Signal Officer

Singh

Major Kalyan Singh
Captain Chhotu Singh
Captain K Sham Singh
Captain K Arjun Singh
Captain K Surajbhan Singh
Lieutenant Th Zabar Singh, Quarter
Master
Lieutenant Mamdu Khan
Lieutenant Mangal Singh
Lieutenant Kalyan Singh, Adjutant
Lieutenant Sultan Singh
Lieutenant Chandan Singh
2nd Lt Dhonkal Singh
2nd Lt Bhopal Singh
2nd Lt K Sardar Singh
2nd Lt K Mohan Singh
Lieutenant K Kesari Singh

PART XI—*contd.*JODHPUR—Jodhpur State Forces—*contd.*

Jodhpur Sardar Infantry.

Colonel-in-Chief, Sardar Infantry . . . Colonel His Highness Raj Rajeshwar
Maharaja Dhiraja Sir Umaid Singh
Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

Strength—570 all ranks including Regimental Transport.

Present Location—Jodhpur (J. Railway).

Uniform—Khaki.

Organisation—H. Q. Wing and 4 Companies.

Facings—Khaki.

*Organised Indian States Forces half Battalion on Indian Army Establishment
in October 1922. Raised in full Battalion in March 1926.*

Composition.—2 Companies Rajputs, 2 Companies Jats and H. Q. Wing Mixed.

Commandant Lt.-Col. Rao Raja Sujjan Singh.

2nd-in-Command Major Heer Singh.

Company Commanders { Captain Shimbhoo Singh.

Captain Lajpat Rai.

Captain Birma Ram.

Captain Dhonkal Singh.

Lieut. K. Bhom Singh.

Lieut. Bahadur Singh—Adjutant.

Lieut. Th. Jawahir Singh—Adjutant.

Lieut. K. Ram Singh—Quartermaster.

Lieut. Bhagwana Ram.

Company Officers { Lieut. Ramu Ram.

2nd-Lieut. K. Fateh Singh.

2nd-Lieut. K. Madho Singh.

2nd-Lieut. Dhonkal Singh

2nd-Lieut. Gulab Singh.

2nd-Lieut. Umed Ram.

Transport Corps.

Organisation—One Draught Troop. *Strength*—73 men, 110 animals and 54 carts.

Raised at Jodhpur in January 1922.

Organised as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment, 2nd Septem. 1926.

Composition—Rajputs.

Transport Officer—Subedar Nag Singh.

Jodhpur Fort Guard.

Raised at Jodhpur in 1936.

Strength—94.

Organisation—One modified Company.

Uniform—Khaki.

Facings—Khaki.

Composition 5 Sections Rajputs.

2 Sections Jats.

1 Section Kayam Khanies.

Commandant Major Umed Singh.

Second-in Command Captain Moti Singh.

Military Station Hospital, Jodhpur.

Raised in February 1922

Commandant Lt.-Col. S. N. Parnaik, Raj Sahib.

Assistants { S. A. S. Jamadar P. R. Badve, L.C.P.S.

S. A. S. Shadi Ram Shanghori (Tempy.).

State Band, Jodhpur.

Director of Music Captain W. H. Ryman.

Band of Master H. rick.

PART XI—contd.

UDAIPUR—INDIAN STATES FORCES

Chief Commandant, Mewar State Forces—His Highness Maharajadhiraja Maharana
Sir Bhupal Singh Bahadur, GCSI, KCIE

A D C to Chief Commandant—Hony Lieut Rao Manohar Singh of Bhupalnagar
Commandant, Mewar State Forces—Major F J Loftus Tottenham I A

Organization—One Squadron

Uniform—Khaki

Strength—153

Facings—Yellow.

Udaipur Mewar Lancers

Raised at Udaipur in 1908 by H H the Maharana Sahib

Reorganized as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Est as a Class "A" unit
in 1933

Present Location—Udaipur (U C Rly)

Composition—1 Squadron Rajputs

Date of entering service	Name and rank	Date of first Commission	Army Rank	Remarks
	<i>Commandant</i>			
16 13	Raghnath Singh Major	19 32	13 37	
	<i>Squadron Commander</i>			
29 9 32	Rawat Dalip Singh of Batera Capt	20 12 33	13 37	
	<i>Squadron Officers</i>			
22 7 31	Kanwar Raghub r Singh Lieut	20 12 33	1 10 35	Adj't
14 34	Jaswant Singh Lieut	19 35	13 37	Q M
	<i>Risaldars</i>			
13 13	Thakur Onkar Singh	17 6 31	19 32	
12 1 32	Kanwar Padam Singh	19 3°	11 35	
	<i>Jemadars</i>			
26 1 20	Thakur Guman S ngh	21 9 33	21 9 33	Ward Major
16 1 23	Shambhu Singl	21 9 33	21 9 33	
29 7 32	Rewat Singh	1 11 34	1 11 34	H C
	<i>Medical Officer</i>			
8 4 23	Subedar Vishwa Nath Shukla L M P	1 9 32	1 9 3°	

PART XI—*contd.***Bhupal Infantry.**

Organization—H. Q., H. Q. Wing (Modified without Vickers Gun) and 2 Companies.
Strength—385 (including State Officers).

Uniform—Khaki.
Facings—Green.

Raised on 1st July 1932 and reorganized as I. S. F., on I. A. Est. as Class "B" unit in 1933.

Present Location—Udaipur (U. C. Rly.).

Composition—6 Platoon Rajputs, 1 Platoon Gurkhas and 1 Platoon Gujars and Jats.

Headquarters and Headquarter Wing—mixed.

Date of entering service.	Rank and name.	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank.	Remarks.
	<i>Commandant.</i>			
15-11-32	Lt. Col. Kishan Singh Bohra, Sardar Bahadur, O.B.I., I.O.M.	15-11-32	1-3-37	
	<i>2nd-in-Command.</i>			
3-10-22	Major Raghuram Singh . . .	1-9-32	1-1-36	
	<i>Adjutant.</i>			
21-2-33	Captain Bijai Singh . . .	21-2-33	1-11-33	
	<i>Company Commanders.</i>			
15-1-31	Captain Maharaj Bahadur Singh .	1-11-33	1-7-35	
15-7-32	Lt. Samandar Singh . . .	1-11-33	1-5-35	
	<i>Company Officers.</i>			
15-7-32	Lt. K. Ram Singh . . .	1-11-33	1-5-35	Signalling Officer.
1-9-32	Lt. K. Alark Jung Bahadur . .	1-11-33	1-5-35	Quarter-Master.
1-10-34	2nd-Lieut. Maharaj Udai Singh .	15-3-36	15-3-36	
1-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Chawand Singh . .	1-1-37	1-1-37	
15-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Sardar Singh . .	1-1-37	1-1-37	
	<i>Subedar Major.</i>			
22-9-21	Bhairon Singh . . .	1-1-22	1-1-25	
	<i>Subedars.</i>			
1-2-24	Ram Singh . . .	1-2-24	1-2-24	
22-5-33	Mukand Singh . . .	22-5-23	2-2-24	
7-4-29	Ram Nath . . .	30-3-30	30-3-30	
25-8-22	Udai Shankar . . .	4-12-26	1-9-32	

PART XI—contd

Bhupal Infantry—contd

Headquarters and Headquarter Wing—mixed—contd

Date of entering service	Rank and name	Date of first Commission	Army Rank	Remarks
	<i>Jemadars</i>			
21 9 30	Mod Singh	10 9 31	10 9 31	
17 7 29	Lachman Singh	1 9 32	1 9 32	
18 9 32	Ram Singh	16 9 32	16 9 32	Jem Qr Mr
14 9 3	Sultan Singh Yadav	1 10 33	1 10 33	Jem H C
24 7 32	Jallu Ram	1 1 36	1 1 36	
5 11 32	Chandgi Ram	1 7 36	1 7 36	Edl Jem
28 8 27	Amar Singh	1 1 37	1 1 37	
18 7 32	Narain Singh	1 4 37	1 4 37	
10 11 32	<i>Medical Officer</i> Ghasi Ram Jemadar L C P & S <i>Brigade Signalling Officer</i> Vacant	10 11 32	10 11 32	

Bhupal Training Company

Organization—Modified Company of Headquarters and 2 Platoons

Strength—82 (including State Officers)

Uniform—Khaki
Facings—Green

Raised on 1st July 1932

Reorganized as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment as "B"

Class unit on 10th August 1933

Present Location—Udaipur (U C Rly)

Composition—Mixed

Date of entering service	Rank and name	Date of first Commission	Army Rank	Remarks
24 10 31	<i>Company Commander</i> Captain Sobha Singh	1 9 32	1 11 33	
8 5 34	<i>Company Officer</i> 2nd Lieut Manmat Singh	15 1 36	15 1 36	
1 7 35	2nd Lieut Krishna Jung Bahadur	1 1 37	1 1 37	Seconded from Sajjan Infantry
20-3 19	<i>Subedar</i> Udai Singh	6 6 31	1 4 37	
26 8 33	<i>Jemadar</i> Ah Bahadur	26 8 33	26 8 33	
1 7 35	K. Krishna Jung Bahadur			
1 7 35	Chawand Singh			
1 7 35	Sardar Singh			

PART XI—*contd.*

Sajjan Infantry.

Organization—Modified H. Q., H. Q. Wing and 3 Companies.

Uniform—Khaki.

Strength—542 (including S. O.).

Facings—Blue.

Composition—Mixed.

Raised on 1st July 1932 and reorganised as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment as "B" Class unit on the 18th July 1934.

Present Location.—Udaipur (U. C. Rly.).

Composition—5 Platoons Rajputs, 2 Platoons Mohammedans, 2 Platoons Bhils, 1 Platoon Gurkhas, 1 Platoon Brahmins and 1 Platoon mixed.

Headquarter and Headquarter Wing mixed.

Date of entering service.	Rank and name.	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank.	Remarks.
	<i>Commandant.</i>			
1-3-37	Major Shamsheer Singh . . .	1-3-37	1-3-37	
	<i>2nd-in-Command.</i>	..	..	Vacant.
	<i>Adjutant.</i>			
15-2-33	Lieut. Shamsheer Singh . . .	1-11-34	1-5-35	
	<i>Company Commanders.</i>			
14-11-26	Lt. Fateh Nath	1-9-33	1-9-33	
17-8-33	Lt. Bhim Raj	17-8-33	30-2-36	
1-7-35	Lt. Bijainath	1-7-35	1-1-37	
	<i>Company Officers.</i>			
8-5-34	2-Lt. Hanuwant Singh . . .	15-1-36	15-1-36	
1-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Parbat Singh . .	1-1-37	1-1-37	
1-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Krishna Jung Bahadur .	1-1-37	1-1-37	Seconded to Bhupal Trg. Coy.
	<i>Quarter Master.</i>			
32	Ramanand, Captain	1-9-33	1-7-35	
	<i>Subedar-Major.</i>			
12-18	Lil Bahadur	26-12-18	1-9-33	
	<i>Subedars.</i>			
6-27	Jamal Khan	21-10-30	1-9-33	
6-23	Madho Singh	15-6-31	1-9-33	
2-19	Tek Bahadur	1-3-24	1-1-34	
9-21	Akbar Khan	1-9-32	4-5-36	
1-3-27	Devi Singh	1-9-33	1-1-37	
9-20	Madanmohan Lal	1-9-33	1-1-37	
1-8-35	Ram Chandra	1-3-37	1-3-37	

PART XI—concl 1

Sajjan Infantry—contd

Date of entering service	Rank and name	Date of first Commission	Army Rank	Remarks
	<i>Jamagars</i>			
22 8 12	Habib Khan	1 9 32	1 9 32	
28 2 23	Ram Singh	1 9 32	1 9 32	
2 7 19	Hamir Singh	1 9 33	1 9 33	Jem Qr Mr
7 11 33	Than Singh	7 11 33	7 11 33	Jem Adj't
1 10 21	Ram Sukh	1 1 34	1 1 34	
31 7 35	Gopal Singh	31 7 35	31 7 35	Jem H C
7 11 22	Duleh Singh	4 5 36	4 5 36	
19-5-34	Nihal Singh	19 7 36	19 7 36	Edl Jem
16 9 32	Khuman Puri	1 1 37	1 1 37	
19 1 26	Debi Singh	1 1 37	1 1 37	
	<i>Attached Cadet</i>			
15 4 34	Laxman Singh			

INDIAN STATES FORCES

British Officers.

Appointment	Rank and name	Corps	Headquarters
Military Adviser in Chief	Major General A M Mills CB DSO	Indian Army	Simla
Military Adviser Rajputana States Forces	Major E P Rich	5/12th Frontier Force Regiment (Q V O Corps of Guides)	Abu T H, Bharatpur.
Assistant Military Adviser, Rajputana States Forces	Capt V J E Paterson	The Central India Horse (21st King George's Own Horse)	Abu (T H, Jaipur)
Asst Military Adviser, Camel Corps Indian States Forces	Capt. J A Hubert	4th Battalion 16th Punjab Regiment	Multan (T H, Bikaner)

PART XI—contd.**Sajjan Infantry.**

Organization—Modified H. Q., H. Q. Wing and 3 Companies.

Uniform—Khaki.

Strength—542 (including S. O.).

Facings—Blue.

Composition—Mixed.

Raised on 1st July 1932 and reorganised as Indian States Forces on Indian Army Establishment as "B" Class unit on the 18th July 1934.

Present Location.—Udaipur (U. C. Rly.).

Composition—5 Platoons Rajputs, 2 Platoons Mohammedans, 2 Platoons Bhils, 1 Platoon Gurkhas, 1 Platoon Brahmins and 1 Platoon mixed.

Headquarter and Headquarter Wing mixed.

Date of entering service.	Rank and name.	Date of first Commission.	Army Rank.	Remarks.
	<i>Commandant.</i>			
1-3-37	Major Shamsheer Singh . . .	1-3-37	1-3-37	Vacant.
	<i>2nd-in-Command.</i>	..	..
	<i>Adjutant.</i>			
15-2-33	Lieut.-Shamsheer Singh . . .	1-11-34	1-5-35	
	<i>Company Commanders.</i>			
14-11-26	Lt. Fateh Nath	1-9-33	1-9-33	
17-8-33	Lt. Bhim Raj	17-8-33	30-2-36	
1-7-35	Lt. Bijainath	1-7-35	1-1-37	
	<i>Company Officers.</i>			
8-5-34	2-Lt. Hanuwant Singh . . .	15-1-36	15-1-36	
1-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Parbat Singh . . .	1-1-37	1-1-37	
1-7-35	2nd-Lieut. Krishna Jung Bahadur .	1-1-37	1-1-37	Seconded to Bhupal Trg. Coy.
	<i>Quarter Master.</i>			
1-7-32	Ramanand, Captain	1-9-33	1-7-35	
	<i>Subedar-Major.</i>			
26-12-18	Lil Bahadur	26-12-18	1-9-33	
	<i>Subedars.</i>			
5-6-27	Jamal Khan	21-10-30	1-9-33	
11-6-23	Madho Singh	15-6-31	1-9-33	
9-2-19	Tek Bahadur	1-3-24	1-1-34	
10-9-21	Akbar Khan	1-9-32	4-5-36	
31-3-27	Devi Singh	1-9-33	1-1-37	
25-9-20	Madanmohan Lal	1-9-33	1-1-37	
4-8-35	Ram Chandra	1-3-37	1-3-37	

PART XIII.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Post Office

Name	Rank	Station
1 Mr R S Purcell C I E O B E	Director General of Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	Simla and Delhi
2 Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barkat Ali B A	Postmaster General Central Circle	Nagpur.
3 Mr M K Raman B A	Deputy Postmaster General Central Circle	Do
4 Rai Sahib Dhanpat Rai B A	Assistant Postmaster General Central Circle	Do
5 Mr K Rama Rao	Ditto	Do
6 „ R M Taylor, M B E	Personal Asstt (Engineering) to Postmaster-General Central Circle	Do
7 „ H Hutson	Personal Asstt (Traffic) to Post master General C. C.	Do
8 B R Narsingrao	Superintendent Postmaster-Generals Office, Central Circle	Do

Superintendents of Post Offices and Railway Mail Service.

1 Mr K V Nilkantham	Superintendent of Post Offices, Jodhpur Western Railway Division
2 „ Syed Maqsood Ali, B A	Superintendent of Post Offices, Jammu Upper Railway Division
3 „ S W Mavlankar, M A	Superintendent of Post Offices, Amritsar Lower Railway Division

AURUNGZEBE'S OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

"cannot see thee!" The emperor repaired to his house without delay, and on his arrival being announced, the dying chief exclaimed in verse, "With what satisfaction does the subject quit the world, whose dying moments you cheer with your presence!" He expired instantly after uttering this, and the emperor retired much affected at the loss of so old and faithful a minister. The date of his death is included in the following verses: "The nabob, the beams of whose bounty gladdened the world, when the blast of death extinguished the lamp of his life, the heavens wept, and, mourning, said, 'Life hath left the world.'" Sippedar Khan, the second son of Khan Jehaun, was raised to the rank of three thousand, with the government of the province of Aleabad.

-8.
6. The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhs, with Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan, being arrived in the vicinity of Jinjee, Zoofeccar Khan and other amras went to pay their respects, and accompany his highness to the spot fixed for his encampment. The khan was himself stationed opposite the great gateway of the fort, and a rivulet ran through his lines. It was now judged proper to surround the place. The camp of the prince and Jumlat al Moolk was fixed toward the hill of Solungwerum, near the redoubt of Kishenghur, which joins to the fort, about a coss and a half from Zoofeccar Khan's post, and a trench thrown up round it. Ismaeel Khan Mukh, with others, was posted on the road of Carnaticghur behind the fort. Near Shytaundoeh, where was a port by which the besieged had a communication with the woods, and procured supplies, Kaker Khan was stationed to prevent them.

As the enemy frequently at night disturbed the prince's camp by throwing rockets, Zoofeccar Khan posted a body of his own troops as an outpost, when they ceased their insolence. Six thousand of the enemy made a sally from the gate facing the baggage camp, and

* A pun on his name, it signifying foul or life.

and were repulsed by Zoolfeccar Khan with Raow Dulput and other officers, who pursued them close to the gate with great slaughter. The prince and Affud Khan moved nearer to Zoolfeccar Khan, and syed Leshkar Khan took up their ground. The rains now set in with great fury; grain again became exceedingly scarce, and the constant duties of the siege beyond measure fatiguing to the troops. The enemy made a desperate sally from the fort on the post of Mahumud Momin, and drove away his troops; but, by the timely succour of Dulput Raow, were again repulsed with great slaughter.

At the conclusion of the rains, Suntah, Dhunnah, and other chiefs, with fifteen thousand horse, advanced for the assistance of Rama to the relief of Jinjee; upon which, as there were not troops sufficient to keep up the blockade and at the same time oppose the enemy in the field, it was resolved, before their arrival, to recall several of the detached posts to the main body. Orders were instantly dispatched to the different amras for this purpose, upon which syed Leshkar Khan and Kaker Khan joined immediately, but Ismaeel Khan Mukh, who was on the other face of the fort, made some delay, and his followers were employed in collecting their baggage when Dhunnah arrived. The khan upon this formed his people as well as he could, and moved towards the camp, but was attacked on the march by Dhunnah's army and a large body of the enemy from the fort, with whom he sustained a running fight to the post of Kaker Khan, when night coming on the battle ceased, but with the loss of great part of his men killed and taken prisoners. In the morning, the khan, with his remaining followers, pursuing his route over a pass, was himself wounded and taken prisoner, but released soon after, by the kindness of Ajeet Naire on account of former friendship.

All communication between the presence and this army having been long stopped, various idle reports of the emperor's illness and even

AURUNGZEBE'S OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

even death prevailed. 'The prince, on account of the advance of the enemy from all quarters, thinking or feigning to believe such tales, consulted apart with his own servants, who imprudently gave him advice to make terms with the enemy, and, having confined Affud ad Dowlah and Zoolfeccar Khan, to act independantly. Having agreed with Rama, the prince resolved to join him, and suddenly ordered out his followers and baggage for march; but Affud Khan being informed of this rash measure, sent immediate advice of it to Zoolfeccar Khan, also a message to the prince, requesting to know the cause of his preparing his troops in the night. To this an answer was sent back, that he had received intelligence of the enemy's intending to make a night attack. Jumlat al Moolk replied, that the alarm was false, and desired that the troops might retire to their tents, and only the usual guards be posted, as other preparations only served to spread false alarms, and dishearten the army.

The prince learning that Affud Khan was upon his guard, and had called together the imperial officers, thought proper to dismiss his troops, and defer the execution of his plan to another opportunity. Zoolfeccar Khan being informed by his father of the prince's conduct, collected all his officers, and remained under arms during the night. In the morning, after bursting as many of the cannon as could not be carried off from the batteries, he moved with all his troops to the grand camp. A body of the enemy from the fort, after much cautious reconnoitring, advanced to destroy the works, while another attacked the line on its march.

Zoolfeccar Khan having joined his father, a council was held, in which it was argued, that if the prince's plan should take effect, the emperor would be very justly displeased, so that it would be most adviseable to prevent it by putting the prince under confinement. This being agreed upon, Affud Khan, Zoolfeccar Khan, and

and other amras, passing by the audience tent, and from thence upon their elephants within the netting, threw down the skreens of the dewan khaneh. The prince's servants were alarmed, and the attendants of the mahal fired some musquetry.

The prince, disturbed at the intrusion, came running confusedly from the square of the women's apartments, when some foot soldiers belonging to Jellall Khan seizing his hands, brought him without his shoes before Jumlat al Moolk. Dulput Raow seeing him in this humiliating situation, immediately rode up, and placed him upon his elephant, seating himself behind in the khow-asseh. Affud Khan now addressed the prince, telling him that the late rumours were false, as the emperor was in health; also, that he had acted in such a manner as would not only disgrace himself, but bring shame upon his grey hairs. The enemy by their feints kept the camp in constant alarm all this day. As it was not safe to leave the prince in his own tents, Affud Khan brought him to his, and having performed the customary compliments upon his alighting, ordered every thing necessary for his accommodation. Syed Leshkar Khan was appointed to guard him, and the attendants of the mahal were placed separately.

Intelligence arrived that Suntah was following Dhunnah, and had arrived at Cavereepauk, ten coss from Kinjee, and that Alimerdan Khan Fojedaur had marched to oppose him, thinking himself superior. Suntah had a very large force; and, in the action, a numerous body of Bhela foot, which the khan had hired, deserted to the enemy, so that he was obliged to fly, and attempted to regain the post of Kinjee, but was taken prisoner with many of his officers, and all his elephants, camels, horses, and baggage were plundered.

AURUNGZEBE'S OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

Suntah arrived shortly after this at Jinjee, and the enemy amounted now to twenty thousand horse, besides the garrison of the place. Of the imperial troops, great part were unavoidably employed in guarding the prince and the charge of the baggage. The prince's followers were disgusted, and would not stir out of their lines, and Maun Sing Rhatoree, an ameer of two thousand, with some others, feigning illness, skulked with the baggage. Zoolfeccar Khan, Dulput Raow, Serafrauz Khan, Fattedh Oollah Khan Tooranee, Raow Kanoo Mharatta, and some other chiefs, with about two thousand horse, engaged the enemy and repeatedly defeated them, so that they could make no impression.

The scarcity of grain became now so great in the camp, as to be intolerable : upon which Zoolfeccar Khan with his brave friends marched to procure supplies at the fort of Bindwaistnee, twelve coss from Jinjee, and arrived during the night. The Tooran Moguls, under cover of the dark, plundered the corn merchants, and proper order was lost by the impatience of the troops. In the morning, the khan collecting what was left, returned towards the camp. The enemy had collected at Deoce to oppose him, and attacked on all quarters. Raow Dulput on the flank repeatedly repulsed them, assisted the front when hard pressed, and often took charge of the rear. This night was passed near Jinjee, and in the morning the enemy in great force charged on all quarters, firing so quickly, that the grain merchants were thrown into confusion. Their marksmen aimed chiefly at the *amras*' elephants, and many shot passed over Raow Dulput, who also used his matchlock, and wounded some of the enemy's officers. The bullocks with grain now sunk into the mud in crossing a swamp of rice fields, and even the horse could move but with slowness and difficulty. The ammunition was also nearly expended. At this juncture, most of Raow Dulput's cavalry moved to the right, where was a sound road, and thus became separated from the infantry, so that not above eighty horse remained

remained round the raow's elephant. The enemy seeing this, detached a party of their foot to an eminence near, who fired so quick, that matters became desperate. The raow had stopped to help the camels and bullocks out of the swamp, and during this the rest of the troops had marched on. The raow, determined to sell his life dearly, stood firmly, and shortly after was joined by Serafrauz Khan Dekkanee with five or six thousand horse, when he charged the enemy, and drove about twelve thousand near half a mile; then halting till the bullocks were disengaged from the swamp, he slowly followed the baggage. The firing now became less frequent, and being arrived at a brook, where some small pieces of artillery were swamped, the khan fixed to them strong ropes, which having put round the elephants, they drew them out. The enemy were appalled at such gallantry, and went off towards Jinjee. Zoolfeccar Khan arrived at the camp about nightfall, and fully represented to Affud Khan the raow's behaviour, on which he conferred many praises.

The supply now brought was but small, and the scarcity soon became again distressing. Some of the followers ventured to the enemy's camp with money, and were allowed to buy sufficient for a meal, which they ate on the spot, but not to bring the smallest quantity away. The enemy from morning till night daily made attacks on the camp, in which was now neither provisions, money, nor hopes of any speedy succour, so that affairs were reduced to the last pitch of distress. At this alarming crisis, Rama, contrary to the advice of all his chiefs, proposed a truce, that the army should move to Bindwaftnee, when he would prepare a proper offering for his majesty. Dulput Raow repeatedly advised Affud Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan against compliance, observing, that it could only be attended by disgrace, and offering to advance thirty or forty thousand rupees for the immediate use of the troops, it being safer at all events to wait a few days longer, and expect

AURUNGZEBE'S OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

relief from the emperor, than make terms. On the other hand, all the foldiers, particularly the artillery, declared they would not remain another day, as they muſt inevitably die of hunger; ſo that Aſſud Khan was reduced to comply with their clamours, and make a truce.

Aſſud Khan with the prince moved at twelve o'clock the next day, but the horſes, camels, and other animals of the camp, were ſo weakened by famine, that they could not take away the baggage, great part of which was ſet fire to, and much left on the ground. The Mharatta ſoldiers came into the camp freely, and ſeeing great quantities of valuable baggage lying about, promiſed the owners that whatever they left behind ſhould be ſafely conveyed to them; but about a thouſand of them followed the army on the march, and plundered the ſtraggling followers. The exhausted troops arrived in three days at Bindwaſtnee, and grain was procured. News now arrived that Caſim Khan was advanced as far as Caverceepauk with large ſupplies, and that Suntah had marched to attack him, but he took timely ſhelter in a fort with his convoy. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving the prince in the fort of Bindwaſtnee, marched to Caſim Khan's aſſiſtance, and brought the ſupplies in ſafety to his camp. The reports which had prevailed were now happily contradicted, and the troops inſpired with new confidence. As ſeveral zemindars had attacked and plundered former convoys on the road, Zoolfeccar Khan and Caſim Khan, having marched, collected conſiderable contributions from them. When the news of the ſiege of Jinjee being raiſed reached him, the emperor was greatly diſpleaſed, and ordered the prince and Aſſud Khan to his preſence. Great favours were conferred on the former, but much coolneſs ſhewn to the latter. This year a fortification was begun round Begumpore at Aurungabad, to protect it from the Mharattas.

When

When Zoolfeccar Khan, upon raising the siege of Jinjee, removed to Bindwaftnee, the enemy possessed themselves of several small forts. He now marched to regain them, and storming the fort of Permacoil, put the garrison to the sword. He after this also took many fortified temples, which abound through both the Carnatics, and were built in former ages by the rajas, before the Mahummedan conquests. When he arrived near Tanjore, the zemindar of Tritchinopoly sent a considerable offering, with requests of assistance to recover several places which the raja of Tanjore had taken from him. Zoolfeccar Khan complied with the request, and obliged the Tanjoree to restore them. The raja of Tritchinopoly was an infant, and the power of the state vested in his mother, a woman of great abilities, who conducted affairs with a masculine courage. Here is a sumptuous temple, built by the rajas, on the banks of the Caverree.

A. H. 1109.

A. D. 1697.

Zoolfeccar Khan overran Tanjore, took much plunder and a very large contribution from the raja; after which he demanded one from the zemindar of Palimcote, but he using many evasions, the khan besieged the place, which held out, the inhabitants making several bold sallies, for five days; when Raow Dulput, with the loss of fifty Raajepootes, got possession of the town, and the polygars evacuated the fort by a wicket in the night, but they were intercepted and plundered by the troops. Zoolfeccar Khan, after the capture of this post, placed tannas in Annetwaul, and returned to the neighbourhood of Jinjee. Having doubts of the fidelity of Ajeet Naire, he communicated them to the emperor, who ordered him to be put to death; which was done by stratagem, as he was too powerful to be punished openly. All his women burnt with him. His effects were plundered by the troops.

Affud Khan was now called to the presence, and again restored to the imperial favour. Zoolfeccar Khan having sent, under the charge

A. H. 1110.

A. D. 1698.

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charge of Syed Kubbeer, the contributions of the zemindars of Carnatic to the presence, was distinguished by promotion and other honours. The emperor with the royal family went to pass the Ramazan at Beejapore, and left the charge of the grand camp to Asfud Khan. At this time, the wells in the city of Beejapore dried up entirely, and the inhabitants were obliged to bring water from a distance.

The prince Mahummud Mauzim, with his family, had long been confined closely in the Ruggelah Bar, and suffered greatly from his father's displeasure. Mahummud Azim Shaw was dangerously indisposed with a dropsy, and some ill conduct of the prince Kaum Bukhsh had caused him to be kept also in strict confinement. At length the emperor, moved by their distresses and paternal affection, ordered the prince's tents to be pitched without the Ruggelah Bar, and permitted them more liberty. After this they were gradually restored to their jaghires and commands. The prince Mahummud Mauzim was honoured with the title of Bahadur Shaw and government of Cabul. On taking leave, he was permitted to beat the nobut from the royal quarters. Several amras were also sent with him. The imperial camp moved to Birmahpore, called now Illaumpore, twelve cofs from Sholapore, on the banks of the Beemrah river.

Zoolfeccar Khan besieged the fort of Velore, and had reduced the place to great distress, when Dhunnah and Suntah approached with a considerable army to its relief. Dhunnah arrived first, and the khan having sent his baggage and women, under charge of Raow Dulput, to the fort of Arcot, eight cofs distant, marched to oppose the enemy; who then retired to Tirivaddee, where they surrounded Saadutmund Khan Ghoree, the sojedaur, but the khan arriving speedily, gave Dhunnah a complete defeat, after which he returned to recommence the siege.

Suntah following Dhunnah, arrived in the Beejapore Carnatic, where Cafim Khan, the fojedaur, joined by Khanehzad Khan and Amaun Oollah Khan, prepared to oppose him; but the zemindars joining Suntah, he was greatly superior to the royalists. Cafim Khan fled to the fort of Dundoore, but there being scarce any provisions in the place, many men, elephants, camels, horses, and bullocks, began to die of hunger. Every hope of relief was cut off; and about a month had passed in this distressed situation, when a capitulation was unavoidably entered into. The effects, which had escaped the plunder in the field, were all given up to the enemy, and the troops came out in a most wretched and famished situation. Cafim Khan died during the blockade: the other amras, after recruiting themselves and men at Adonee, moved to the presence; but the emperor, being much displeased, would not admit them to an audience, and detached them to various places. Khanehzad Khan was appointed kelladaar of Mahummudabad Bieder; Suffshekun Khan fojedaur of Dhamounnee; Mahummud Moraud Khan fojedaur of Godereh in Guzarat; and Ram Chund, son of Raow Dulput, kelladaar of Ghur Nummoona; but he fled from thence to his father's zemindaree with intention of taking forcible possession; upon which the emperor sent orders to the fojedaur of that quarter, either to take him prisoner, or put him to death.

Suntah after his victory moved towards Jinjee; when Zoolfeccar Khan marching from Arcot gave him a total defeat near the fort of Arnee. Himmud Khan, son of Khan Jehaun Bahadur, being sent to the aid of Khanehzad Khan, was killed by an arrow in an action with the enemy, and soon after Khan Jehaun died in the imperial camp. Aurungzebe did him the honour of a visit in his last moments. His fortune was confiscated to the treasury, but the amount did not answer expectations. He was a nobleman of true dignity; and, being the emperor's foster brother, thought himself superior to all the other amras. He was expensively magnificent in his equi-
pages,

AURUNGZEBE'S OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

pages, houses, and attendants. He used great freedom of speech with Aurungzebe, who was often displeased with his repartees, particularly, when on asking his advice in the affairs of Dekkan, he talked in a free strain of censure on the imperial operations.

11. This year was employed in pursuing the Mharattas, who plundered Dekkan in parties, as far as Ballaghaut.

12. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving his baggage at Arcot, marched to collect contributions, which he exacted from the zemindars of Tanjore and other districts; but they did not suffice to pay up the troops. He then moved near Jinjee, where intestine divisions had happened among the Mharatta chiefs, which gave hopes of taking the place.

Dhunnah, having disagreed with Suntah, represented to Rama, that this chief had usurped dangerous power, from his large army, and had formed plans of treason against him. Upon this, Rama dispatched Amreet Raow, a chief of much reputation, with his own and Dhunnah's troops, to attack Suntah, who defeated them. Rama and Dhunnah retreated to Jinjee, and Suntah returned to his own country, much displeased at their treatment; but he was killed in a surprise shortly after, by the brother in law of Amreet Raow, who cut off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Dhunnah now acquired great power among the Mharattas, and formed a party with Ram Chund Pundit, Rama's minister; but Perferam, another principal Pundit, favoured the cause of Ranoo, Suntah's son, and his uncle Herjee Hindoo Raow.

At this time Rama entreated peace on certain conditons, and sent his son Kerrun under care of Ram Chund Harrah to Zoolfeccar Khan, who forwarded his petition to court, and encamped during the rains at Bindwaftnee. The emperor would not listen to Rama's offers of submission, but ordered Zoolfeccar Khan to commence the

siege

siege of Jinjee; upon which Kerrun was sent back to his father. Zoolfeccar Khan was honoured by the title of Nufferut Jung; upon which he made a great feast, and conferred rich presents upon his officers and troops.

Nufferut Jung marched, and encamped before Jinjee, of which he began the siege without delay. He himself chose the post of Soulungwerum, Dulput Raow was stationed before the gateway and on the back of the fort, Ram Chund Harrah between it and Chummar Tungara, a redoubt which was taken by storm two days after by Daood Khan Punnee. Here was the wicket of Shitaun Dooee, and Nufferut Jung might have taken the fort of Jinjee in an instant if he had chosen to follow his blow by this passage; but, like many other generals, he wished to prolong the war. Indeed the total ruin of the Mharatta power might have been effected with ease many years before, but the amras delayed on purpose, and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never ending length, for their own advantage; also dreading, that when the emperor should have finally reduced Dekkan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Bulkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of the north.

Rama being alarmed, left his family, and fled to Tanjore. Raow Dulput, who was stationed near the gateway, carried his approaches to Kishen Ghur, which joins to Jinjee, and was advanced near the wall, when Zoolfeccar Khan thought proper to recall him to his own post, and Daood Khan was stationed at Chuttun Ghur. A person having found out a path which led through the woods into the fort, communicated his discovery to Daood Khan, who went himself with some attendants to survey it, and finding it passable, the storm was immediately ordered. Raow Dulput with his followers soon gained the outer wall in spite of

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all opposition; upon which the besieged fled towards the citadel, called Calicote, but the Raajepootes were too swift for them, and put to death great numbers; also taking five elephants belonging to Rama. The survivors took refuge in a building called Raujehgur. The wicket of Shitaun Dooee, which had been bricked up, was now opened, and Zoolfeccar Khan entered with his people.

Daood Khan also entered at another part, and the inhabitants here asked for quarter, which was granted them, but an immense plunder fell to the victors. Rama's family having barricadoed themselves in Raujehgur, the strongest part of Jinjee, entreated terms; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan came himself to the gate, and sent in by a ladder Ram Chund Harrah to give them assurances of protection and good treatment. Palanquins were sent for the women and children, who came out and were saved from violence; but one of Rama's wives, fearing dishonour, threw herself from the top of the wall, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. Zoolfeccar Khan remained in the fort to collect the plunder and post guards; but the other amras returned to their several stations. About four thousand women and children were taken, but very few fighting men. Jinjee is the general name for the whole of the fortifications, though there are six forts and a large town, extensive tanks, groves of cocoanut trees, and gardens. The khan having given orders for the repair of the fort and an investigation of the private paths, appointed Ghuzzunfir Khan kelladaar for the present, and came out with Rama's women and children under his own protection, to the camp.

13. This year the imperial camp was overflowed by the rising of the
101. Beemrah, and great numbers of people drowned; but at length his majesty penned a devout prayer, which upon being thrown into the water, it fell instantly. The prince Bahadur Shaw was appointed to the government of Cabul.

Zoolfeccar

Zoolfeccar Khan Nufferut Jung was called to the presence from Arcot. The emperor marched in person against the enemy, and after taking in three days the fort of Buffunt Gurrah, sat down before Sittarrah, a place of great strength. Bhaow Kishna, a Mharatta chief, with fifteen thousand horse, crossed the river Nerbudda, and after laying waste Dhamounce and some other districts, retreated. This was the first time that a Mharatta chief had ventured to extend their depredations across the Nerbudda. Ranoo, Sintah's son, with Harjee Gorereh, commonly called Hindoo Raow, in conjunction had collected great riches by their incursions, and Rama, at the head of a vast body, also committed great excesses in the imperial soubah of Berar. A. H. 1114.
A. D. 1702.

Sultan Bedar Bukht was detached to punish these banditti, also Zoolfeccar Khan; who, leaving his heavy baggage at Sholapore, met the prince near the town of Jarnate, and marched in pursuit of Rama, who fled before him, by the road of Porundeh, and crossed the Beemrah into his own country. Dhunnah with other chiefs marched for Birmahpore, where was the imperial baggage camp, and had the khan not followed by very quick marches, they would most probably have plundered it. On the day of his approach they fled towards Sittarrah Ghur, and being arrived near the royal camp, attempted the plunder of the grand granaries; but Zoolfeccar Khan coming up, gave them a total defeat. The evening of the battle Beheramund Khan, meer bukhshi, joined the khan, and requested that he would permit him to take the credit of the victory, in order to give him reputation with the emperor. The khan consented; and accordingly the bukhshi and his followers were honoured with the royal thanks and honorary dresses. Some days after, Zoolfeccar Khan requested an audience, and was graciously received by the emperor, who dispatched him with other amras to observe the enemy, and prevent them from committing excesses on the baggage camp at Birmahpore. On his arrival, he learned that Ouzbuk Khan,

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Khan, with a large convoy of money and provisions, was arrived at Roigurrah, twelve cofs off, but had halted, not daring to advance through fear of the enemy, who were on the watch for so rich a prize. The khan upon this marched to join him; then leaving the baggage under his charge, pursued the enemy four and twenty cofs from the morning until nine o'clock at night, not giving them the smallest respite or himself refreshment. He then returned, and conducting the convoy in safety to Birmahpore, halted some time in that neighbourhood.

Intelligence arrived that Rama dying of the small pox, was succeeded by his son Kerrun, who survived him but a few days, and was succeeded by his son Sewa, an infant of only two years, under the guardianship of Ram Chund Pundit, who took up his residence with his charge in the fortress of Kalneh, and was unanimously obeyed by the other chiefs. Nussurut Jung pursued a body of the enemy by Sholapore, and crossed the Beemrah at Tuljapore, into their country.

Ruttun Sing, son of Gopal Sing, who had been sent by his father to manage his zemindaree, kept back the revenues to his own use; upon which Gopal Sing complained to the emperor, who ordered Ruttun Sing to the presence, but he would not obey. However after some time he made his submissions, through Mukhtar Khan, the governor of Malwa, and embraced the Mahummedan faith; which pleasing Aurungzebe, he conferred upon him his father's territories. Gopal Sing being disgusted at this, fled from the sultan Bedar Bukht's camp, and endeavoured to recover his country by rebellion; but, not succeeding, he sought a shelter in the rana of Odipore's dominions. The emperor at this time shewed but little favour to his faithful and most useful subjects the Raajepootes, which greatly cooled their ardour for his service.

Zoolfeccar

Zoolfeccar, after crossing at Tuljapore, pursued the enemy wherever they fled, and had several severe engagements, in all which he was victorious. Dissentions had happened between Dhunnah and Ranoo; but they now saw it their interest to unite, and agreed to meet for a reconciliation, and to form a plan of operations, near Koolburga. The khan, having pursued Dhunnah to the neighbourhood of Tuldoorg, left his baggage at Sholapore, and marched towards the town of Monillah, which was the place of conference fixed upon by the two chiefs. Dhunnah upon this ventured to engage, and was defeated. He after this met Ranoo, who brought a vast body to join him, at Firoseabad, eight coss from Koolburga. Being reconciled, the two chiefs formed a regular camp, near the ruined fort of Firoseabad, on the banks of the Beemrah. Zoolfeccar Khan, though his force was comparatively small with that of the enemy, which consisted of thirty five thousand horse, repeatedly defeated them, and, at length, after a space of eight months, they were rendered unable to keep the field, and separating their forces, took shelter in the woods. After a continuance of some months, Ranoo went towards Pernalleh, and Dhunnah towards Wakin Kerah. The khan, upon intelligence of this, leaving Birmahpore upon his right, marched, and encamped near the fort of Mujhunder, belonging to the emperor. The rains now set in, and the horses, elephants, and camels had been so harassed by constant marching as to be quite unserviceable. The khan had in this last campaign, in marches, countermarches, and pursuits, moved above two thousand coss, so that the whole army was excessively fatigued. Intelligence now arrived, that a body of the enemy committed depredations between Birmahpore and the royal camp; upon which the emperor ordered the khan to take post where he thought proper between these two stations, to keep open the communication. The khan acted accordingly, shifting his ground from place to place, as he saw occasion. Daood Khan Punnee was detached from him to the

the fojedaury of Carnatic Hyderabad, ſo that but a very ſmall force remained.

The emperor was ſtill engaged in beſieging the fort of Sittarraḥ Ghur, which yet held out againſt his arms with an obſtinate bravery, and found means to procure daily ſupplies by private roads. The beſieged alſo made ſeveral ſallies by night on the camp, but were always driven back with loſs.

Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, at length carried two mines under a baſtion, which were ſprung, and blew up about four hundred of the beſieged who were ſtationed upon the walls of the fort; but Terbeut Khan having neglected to give proper information to the troops in the batteries, about three thouſand of them, with ſeveral chiefs of note, were killed by the exploſion: which miſfortune brought upon him the royal diſpleaſure, and the reſentment of the whole army, as every one had loſt a relation or friend. The governor of the fort, finding it vain to ſtand out longer, begged quarter; and, at the interceſſion of ſultan Bedar Bukht, was pardoned, and promoted to the rank of five thouſand. The emperor named this fort Azim Tarrah; and, after ſettling a proper garrifon, moved to beſiege Perlee, another ſtrong fortrefs not far diſtant. Fatteh Oollah Khan was commanded to conduct the ſiege, and having found an opportunity of planting wooden ladders on the walls, about three hundred Moguls and others were killed in an unſucceſſful ſtorm; but the enemy ſoon after ſubmitted on capitulation, which was granted by his majeſty, at the interceſſion of the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw. This place was named by the emperor Noruſ Tarrah.

After this, the emperor marched, though in the height of the rains, which was ſo diſtreſſing to the army, that even many noble-men were obliged to travel on foot. He halted for ſome days at

Bhofegurrah,

Bhofegurrah, which was new named Islaum Tarrah: the prince Azim Shaw was sent to Malwa, as the rana had shewn signs of disaffection by giving shelter to Gopal Sing Chandraowt, and a rebellion in that quarter was expected, more especially as Shujaut Khan, the governor of Ajmere, was lately dead, and a new one not yet appointed. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who had been sent to correct the zemindar of Deogur, was recalled to the presence, and the prince ordered to punish him on his march. Upon this account he halted some time at Boorahanpore, and was then ordered to take upon him the government of Guzarat.

Dulput Roy was honoured with the command of the advanced body of Zoolfeccar Khan's army, in the room of Daood Khan Punnee; and though he had before kept up a force out of his own purse, beyond his compliment, he on this occasion greatly encreased the number for his own reputation.

The emperor moved to encamp at Khouasspore for the remainder of the rains, which were so violent, that the camp was overflowed by the river, and a great number of people and cattle perished. The waters rose up to the gate of the royal music room, and danger was apprehended to the apartments of his majesty, who was at this time much indisposed with a sore in the right foot, which resisted all the power of medicine, and was very painful.

The prince Bedar Bukht was sent towards Mortizaabad for the siege of Pernalleh, and Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to attend him. He accordingly joined the prince at Moorje, where he halted some time on account of the overflowing of the waters; but repeated instructions coming from court to proceed, the prince at length moved by forced marches, and sat down before Pernalleh. Zoolfeccar Khan made an excursion as far as the fort of Khalneh. The emperor

emperor moved from Khouasspore to Moorje, in order to give instructions and assist the siege.

Dhunnah with a great body of Mharattas having plundered in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Hummeed ad Dien Khan and Munaim Khan were detached against him; but a great number of their followers being killed, they required reinforcements, and Zoofeccar Khan was ordered to their assistance. The enemy fled immediately on hearing of his approach, and he pursued them as far as Jugoanee in Beejapore, when they made a stand, and were defeated with great loss. The next day a fresh body appeared, and Raow Dulput pursued them without halting for thirty cofs, with much slaughter. Zoofeccar Khan after this moved back with speed to Pernalleh, lest the enemy should attempt to disturb the siege of that place.

All the Mharatta chiefs after some time united under Ram Chund Pundit, and moved to the neighbourhood of Pernalleh, where they plundered the camp followers and travellers without mercy. A number of grain merchants coming with provisions, the enemy surrounded them at Rollapore, only five cofs from the camp; upon which the prince sent Serdaur Khan Dekkanee to their assistance; but the enemy being in great force, he could only act upon the defensive, of which he sent notice to the prince, who immediately dispatched Nufferut Jung, Raow Dulput, and Ram Sing Harrah to his relief. Raow Dulput arriving first, his Raajepootes killed about four hundred of the enemy's foot. Zoofeccar Khan remained under arms the whole night, and in the morning the enemy, seeing no advantage was to be gained, took to flight. The whole imperial army was much distressed this year, by fatiguing marches, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies.

Ghazi ad Dien Khan being recalled from Deogur to the presence, was ordered to pursue Ranoo, who committed depredations in the neighbourhood of Koolburga; and also to punish Ponapah Pinder, the raow of Wakin Kerah. Ghazi ad Dien marched towards Koolburga, and the emperor to carry on the siege of Pernalleh with greater vigour. Mucklifs Khan, second bukshi, died, and Khanehzad Khan, son of Roh Oollah Khan, being recalled from Hyderabad, was honoured with his father's title and the office of grand steward of the imperial household. When the emperor arrived in the vicinity of Pernalleh, the prince with all his officers received the honour of an audience. Abou Houffun, the deposed king of Hyderabad, died at this time in his confinement in the towers of Dowlutabad. Dhunnah and other Mharatta chiefs, advanced to the grand baggage camp at Birmahpore, and the enemy even invaded Khandeshe and the province of Malwa. Zoolfeccar Khan pursued and defeated Dhunnah.

A. H. 1116.
A. D. 1704.

Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan was recalled to the presence, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan entrusted with the charge of the baggage camp in his room. The fort of Pernalleh was at length taken, after which the emperor moved with the grand camp, and cantoned in the vicinity of Kuttason and Burrah Butchgaum. Beheramund Khan was sent to besiege the fort of Chundun Mundun, which the enemy marched to relieve; but Zoolfeccar Khan advancing in the night, when it rained very hard, came upon their army by surprise, and defeated them. The emperor now marched to besiege the fort of Khalneh, and was pleased to exalt Affud Khan to the title of ameer al amra.

Zoolfeccar Khan again defeated a great body of Mharattas in the neighbourhood of Porundeh, and at several other places. During this pursuit, he passed through part of Berar, which was much laid waste by the enemy; but they had spared some pergun-

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nahs, the zemindars of which were regular in the payment of the choute. The landholders of Berar and Khandeshe joined the enemy, to the number of sixty thousand, and opposed Zoolfeccar Khan, whose force was but small, and Alimerdan Khan, the nazim of Berar, durst not move from Elichpore, the capital of the province, out of dread of the enemy; upon which the khan marched to within ten cofs of that city, and summoned him to join; which at length he did, but every day begged to be dismissed. Zoolfeccar Khan, regarding the good of the imperial service, would not comply with his request.

One day, the khan having made a tedious forced march, came to an eminence where he designed to halt for the night; but perceiving the enemy's camp, Dulput Raow was dispatched to attack it with his advanced corps, and the khan followed to support him, with the whole army. The enemy were soon put to the route, and fled seventeen cofs without once looking behind them, so great was the dread of the khan's arms. He now permitted Alimerdan Khan to return to Elichpore, and was visited by Khodabundeh Khan, son to the late ameer al amra Shaifteh Khan, but this nobleman, would not move the smallest distance with him out of his districts, so that Zoolfeccar Khan was left with not more than three thousand horse. Notwithstanding, he still pursued the enemy, who amounted to about sixty thousand, to the fort of Kolafs Ghur, in the Hyderabad country. It is the custom of the Mharattas to press chiefly on the rear of an enemy, and they followed this mode on the present crisis, but were as often repulsed by the bravery of Ram Sing Harrah and Dulput Raow.

Zoolfeccar having in the pursuit expended most of his ammunition, found it adviseable to retire to Mahummudabad Bieder for fresh supplies, which having procured, he again marched after the enemy, and gave them a complete defeat on the banks of the
river

river Baumgunga; after which they separated, and fled to the hills in different bodies. They soon again threatened Berar, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches, advanced to the borders of that province, when they thought proper to retreat. At this time, from the river Nerbudda, through all Dekkan, Khandeshe, Berar, and Kokun, in every district, the Mharattas swarmed like ants or locusts. It may not be unnecessary to mention the causes of the encrease of these plunderers, who, though always defeated by the royal troops in the field, yet by their sudden inroads often laid whole districts waste, before armies could arrive to punish them.

In the reign of Shaw Jehaun the government of provinces was lodged with amras of the first rank, who kept a large force on foot, but were now held by new nobles, of inferior rank, poor, and rapacious, who neglected to maintain proper troops, and at the same time oppressed the people. The zemindars would not obey fojedaurs without troops, and became rebellious, and remiss in their payments. As the fojedaurs could not force them, they were glad to content themselves with what they could get; and in order to lead a quiet life, entered into secret agreements with them, and winked at their disobedience, which made them still more insolent.

In the countries dependant on Hyderabad and Beejapore, which before their conquest maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty four thousand. The jaghiredars could not get possession of their jaghires for want of troops; and if they did, their holding them for any time was so uncertain, that they did not consider the ease of the farmers, but oppressed them for money by every mode that avarice could devise, so that they entered into combinations with the enemy. While the newly conquered countries were thus unsettled, the antient territories of Dekkan were not less troubled by the tyranny of governors, and the frequent changes of them and the jaghiredars, who were

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obliged not only to supply their own necessities, but furnish large bribes to the civil officers about the court. It was represented to the emperor, that the zemindars were in confederacy with the enemy; upon which he ordered all their weapons of defence to be seized, and this left them an easy prey to invaders, whom at last they joined for self-security.

Contributions were then collected in lieu of regular revenues, and the parties sent every where to collect supplies for the grand camp were guilty of every sort of excess. Added to this, the collectors of the odious religious capitation, forced millions from the farmers, and accounted but for small sums with the royal treasury. Whenever the emperor appointed a jaghiredar, the Mharattas appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they found opportunity; so that, in fact, every place had two masters. The farmers, thus oppressed, left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment.

The emperor having taken most of the Mharatta fortresses, they were left without any resource but plunder, out of which they paid a share to their chief, the son of Rama. Many of the powerful disaffected zemindars joined them, so that they amounted to above an hundred thousand horse. The imperial amras, deprived of their revenues from the jaghires, had recourse to false musters, and did not keep up above half their compliments of men; so that detachments could not be sent every where to punish the invaders, and the grand army was always employed in sieges, which left the Mharattas at liberty to plunder almost without molestation, but particularly during the siege of Khalneh, their excesses were unbounded. They stopped every communication of supply to the imperial camp, where numbers perished by famine; and their insolence grew to such a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock prayers

prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whose mode of making war was so favourable to their invasions and depredations. Added to this, the imperial troops were tired out with a constant campaign of above twenty years, and grew disgusted and remiss in their duty.

Zoolfeccar Khan, during six months, had nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above three thousand coss, in marches and countermarches.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped for some time near Satoor, and then made incursions to the neighbourhood of Kundaneh, where the Mharattas had fixed their cantonments. The fort of Khalneh now fell into the emperor's hands, when, notwithstanding the height of the rains, he moved to Bahadur Ghur. This march was attended with so many inconveniences, that even the emperor's tents were often left far in the rear, and bodies of the enemy plundered part of the baggage, which, through the fatigue of the elephants, camels, and bullocks, were left behind in different places. Zoolfeccar Khan was dispatched towards Ahmednuggur in pursuit of the enemy, who were committing depredations in that quarter. Beheramund Khan, meer bukhshi, one of Aurungzebe's oldest nobility and friends, dying was buried at his own request in a small tomb at Bahadur Ghur. He was succeeded in his office by Zoolfeccar Khan Nufferut Jung, who, notwithstanding this appointment, continued in the command of the army against the Mharattas, and Muttullub Khan acted as his deputy in the presence.

A. H. 1117.
A. D. 1705.

The depredations of a large body of the enemy near the royal camp were encreasing daily, and some of the imperial elephants were carried off from their foraging ground, at only two coss distant from it. Mahummud Ameen Khan Tooranee, suddur al suddoor, was sent to recover them, but the enemy pressed him so hard, that his elephants, horses, camels, and baggage, fell into their hands.

He

He himself with the greatest difficulty escaped alone into a village, from which he travelled in a common hackery to Chumarcondah, where the sojedaur supplied him with necessary conveyance to the royal camp. Aurungzebe however received him graciously, and conferred many favours upon him. The emperor after this marched to besiege the fort of Kundaneh, and Fattah Oollah Khan was sent to conduct the artillery from Khalneh. He was hard pushed by the enemy near Rhamutpore, but Zoolfeccar Khan arrived in time to his assistance, and it was resolved to punish Dhunnah effectually. At this instant intelligence arrived, that Cheen Koollich Khan, sojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was arrived on the banks of the Kistnah, sixteen coss from the city, and that a large body of Mharattas had marched with the hopes of plundering him, Zoolfeccar, upon this, moved by forced marches to support him, but upon his arrival at Beejapore he learned that Koollich Khan had safely gained the fort of Mudkul, and Dhunnah, being disappointed, had gone towards the neighbourhood of Koolburga. Though Ghazi ad Dien Khan was at the head of an army to punish the enemy, he did not move to the assistance of his son. Upon his arrival at Koolburga, Zoolfeccar Khan received orders to hasten to the presence. At this time the emperor was employed in the siege of Kundaneh, where Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, had erected his batteries on the same hill, that the Maharajah Jeffwunt Sing had formerly done. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived in camp, was graciously received, and ordered to carry on approaches on the side of Sewapore. Many days had not passed, when intelligence arrived that a body of Mharattas, having crossed the Nerbudda, were committing depredations near Oojem, and that the Afghauns of Malwa had also raised a rebellion; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to march for the defence of that country. Raow Dulput was now promoted to the rank of three thousand. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was appointed to the government of Berar, and to defend the country

of

of Telingana, when he fixed his cantonments close to the fort of Candahar.

The emperor still lay before Kundaneh. Sultan Mahummud Bedar Bukht was appointed to the government of Aurungabad and Boorahanpore. The enemy, after plundering the environs of the last mentioned city, crossed the Nerbudda, and destroyed the town of Ghurkore. Though Raja Jey Sing and Rustum Khan Dekkanee were detached against them by the prince, yet no advantage was gained; upon which the royal orders were issued, that the prince and Zoolfeccar Khan should act in conjunction.

The khan arriving near Ferdapore, the Mharattas quitted the siege of that city, and made incursions into Berar. The prince left Alimerdan Khan for the defence of Boorahanpore, and Zoolfeccar Khan detached Rustum Khan Dekkanee for the protection of Berar. Intelligence arrived, that the enemy under Dhunnah's son had besieged Sultanpore Nudderbar, upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched to that quarter, where, on his arrival, he learned that they had gone to Buggellana. The khan pursued them, and arrived at Ambolah, where Ragnoo, a Mharatta chief in the service of Moattiber Khan, tannadaar of Kallean and sojedaur of Goolshunabad, maintained a body of robbers, and carried on an open traffick unmolested with merchants, for the effects plundered by his people, but he found means to evade the khan's displeasure.

Dhunnah's son now moved with intentions to infest the environs of the royal camp, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches hastening to Nerool, prevented his putting his design into execution. The fort of Kundaneh was now given up by the governor to the emperor for a sum of money. The enemy soon after this plundering in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Zoolfeccar Khan as often repulsed them as they dared to approach. About this
time

time negotiations were carried on by sultan Kaum Bukhsh with the enemy for a peace, and Raja Saooh was released from the Ruggelah Bar, and entrusted to the care of the prince; but the Mharattas, who now had acquired great strength, and plundered at pleasure all the provinces of Dekkan, were so insolent in their demands, that all thoughts of accommodation were soon again laid aside, and Raja Saooh remanded to his confinement. Zoolfeccar Khan was dispatched into Khandeshe, where nearly forty thousand Mharattas committed great depredations.

The emperor, after the fall of Kundaneh, cantoned in the town of Poonah; but, owing to the plunders of the enemy, grain was so dear in the royal camp, that only three seer could be had for a rupee. A great drought had also happened in all the provinces of Dekkan, so that there was little cultivation, and many of the inhabitants sought an asylum across the Nerbudda. The emperor's affairs visibly declined, and the enemy roamed at large in every quarter. Zoolfeccar Khan moved by rapid marches to the neighbourhood of Boorahanpore, when they fled into Berar; and Ghazi ad Dien Khan being entrusted with the protection of that province, he did not pursue them, but agreeable to the imperial orders marched to protect Aurungabad and Ahmednuggur.

Though provisions were beyond expression scarce in the royal camp, yet Aurungzebe marched from Poonah to besiege the fort of Rajeghur; and Sudder ad Dien Mahummud Zumman Khan, third bukhshi, was ordered to protect the grand baggage camp at Bahadur Ghur. Zoolfeccar Khan with a convoy of grain, of which he had collected a great quantity, arrived safely at the royal camp, and was promoted to additional rank for this service. The Mharattas in Berar, having completely defeated Rustum Khan, crossed the Nerbudda, upon which Ghazi ad Dien Khan marched after them, and orders were sent to the munsubdars of Malwa to collect and oppose them.

them. The prince Mahummud Bedar Bukht was also ordered to cross the Nerbudda, and Zoolfeccar Khan to protect Aurungabad and Boorahanpore, till his return.

Negotiations towards the settlement of a peace were still carried on, through the sultan Kaum Bukhsh, with Dhunnah Jadoo, who only entered into them to deceive and delay time. Neema Sindia, after crossing the Nerbudda, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje. The forts of Rajeghur and Toorrah fell to the royal arms.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped on the banks of the Gung, and the prince Bedar Bukht marched towards Oojein, but cantoned for some time near Boorahanpore. The emperor, after the fall of Rajeghur, moved towards the fort of Sumber Chumber; but, on account of the rains, halted within fourteen coss. Raow Dulput escorted a large convoy of supplies as far as Ahmednuggur, in the way to the royal camp. Ali Nukkee, a grandson to the Persian emperor, being disgusted, fled to Surat, from whence he sent a petition to Aurungzebe, who invited him to court, and upon his arrival conferred upon him the command of three thousand horse, and the title of Mirza Suffavee Khan.

Zoolfeccar Khan detached Dulput Raow and Ram Sing Harrah in pursuit of the enemy, who had made incursions to the vicinity of Beejapore and Beelbuttah. They followed them from thence into Khandeshe, where they completely defeated and obliged them to evacuate that province entirely, taking a great number of their horses and arms; after which they returned to Aurungabad.

Neema Sindiah, who had quarrelled with Dhunnah, separated from him; and crossing the Nerbudda, as before mentioned, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje, at the instigation of

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the rebel raja Sutterfal Bondela; but they did not long agree together. The imperial orders had been sent for the prince, Bedar Bukht to pursue the invader, but he was delayed, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan Feroze Jung, after punishing the Mharattas in Berar, left his baggage at Boorahanpore, and moved by quick marches to Seronje; from which the enemy fled before his arrival; but the khan wrote to court that he had gained a victory, which pleased the emperor so much that he immediately conferred upon him the title of Sippaeh Sallar, and many favours on all his principal officers; but they were withdrawn on the truth being made known, and he returned to his government in Berar. Dulput Raow agreeably to the orders of Zoofeccar Khan, conducted the family of the prince to Boorahanpore, and then returned. Roh Oollah Khan, grand steward of the imperial household and treasurer of the privy purse, son to the deceased nobleman of the same name, died about this time. The emperor himself was taken very ill, but recovered in a short time. A great scarcity of grain prevailed all through Dekkan. The imperial revenues, numerous elephants, and a vast caravan, having arrived from Hindoostan at Aurungabad, Raow Dulput and Ram Sing Harrah escorted them at two different times to Ahmednuggur and the imperial camp. Khodabundeh Khan, son to the late ameer al amra, who was sojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was called to the presence, and distinguished by the post of grand steward of the household. Two caravans, one soon after another, coming from Hindoostan towards Aurungabad, were both greatly plundered by the Mharattas near the pass of Ferdapore, so that the army, by these disasters and the waste of the jaghires by the enemy, were exceedingly distressed for all the necessities of life. The Mharattas, by their frequent successful plunders, became very rich and powerful. A party even advanced close to the city of Hyderabad, with intentions to lay it waste. Dhunnah, Kunnoot, and Hundoo roamed at large in the Carnatic, where Daood Khan, an ameer of five thousand, deputy of Zoofeccar Khan,

Khan, fought with them many battles. Though the emperor was in Dekkan, and above one hundred and seventy thousand horse were paid for by him in the camp and the provinces, yet they did not suffice. The powers of government became relax in every quarter. Aurungzebe moved from the cantonments of Ghur Kerroofs to punish Ponapah Pinder, who had rebelled in the districts of Wakin Kerah, and entertained evil designs upon Zuffirabad Bieder. The enemy made an attack on the imperial baggage near Bahadur Ghur, and acquired a great plunder, besides setting fire to great quantities of valuable effects. Their insolencies were greater than in the last year, so that the lands round all the capital cities were totally waste, and lay uncultivated. Neema Sindia made an attempt to advance to Banaras, through the country of Nagpore, but the zemindars united, and prevented his design. The Mharattas retook several fortresses that had lately submitted to the royal arms; but particularly the strong fort of Loeh Ghur. The prince Bedar Bukht had, agreeably to the imperial orders, gone to Oojein, so that there did not remain a force at Boorahanpore to furnish escorts for the caravans which came from Hindoostan; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched with his army to that city, and after punishing a body of the enemy, who were on the watch for plunder, conducted the treasure and supplies to Aurungabad. His force being but small, he was obliged to request a reinforcement for the defence of that city. Accordingly, Mogul Khan Tooranee was detached to join him for this purpose, and Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving him there, marched with a large convoy of treasure and supplies to the imperial camp.

The emperor was still engaged against the rebels of Wakin Kerah, but the roads all round were crowded with large bodies of the enemy; yet such was their dread of Zoolfeccar Khan, that, whenever he approached, they fled instantly to the distance of thirty five or forty coss; and he escorted his convoy in safety to the royal camp.

camp. The emperor encamped about a coss from the fort of Wakin Kerah, and ordered Cheen Koollich Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, Terbeut Khan; commander of the artillery and others, to conduct the siege. They accordingly raised two large mounds of earth near the gateway, which were immediately occupied by the troops of the sultan Mahummud Kaum Bukhsh. Cheen Koollich Khan attempted, but in vain, to get possession of a hill on another quarter of the fort, but was repeatedly repulsed by the enemy, who sallied out in great numbers. Hummeed ad Dien Khan also was obliged to quit his station, and with difficulty regained the camp. Dhunnah, with other chiefs, having collected about five thousand horse and five and twenty thousand foot, infested the neighbourhood. An entrenchment was drawn all round the royal camp. The enemy made such powerful sallies from the fort, daily and nightly throwing rockets, that not a single person durst venture out of the camp. Detachments from it were repeatedly defeated, and the distress for grain and forage became pinching to the last degree. The cause of these disgraces was, that the present race of amras, out of avarice, folly, and inexperience, neglected the veterans and their sons, and mounted as cavalry their own timid, slothful, menials and slaves, whose fighting and running away became synonymous terms. The deceitful Pinderreh made proposals of peace, through the prince Kaum Bukhsh and Cheen Koollich Khan; but, though the emperor repeatedly disapproved of them, they still continued their importunate solicitations, and indeed all the amras were alarmed at the enemy's encreasing superiority.

At this time, Zoofeccar Khan was on his march with supplies from Aurungabad. The emperor sent repeated orders to hasten him and Daood Khan to the presence; and, for the present, regarding the fears of the amras about his person, seemingly listened to the proposals of the enemy, and bestowed khelauts on Ponapah, with

an elephant, and gave some jewels to his mother. Mohtushum Khan was sent into the fort as kelladaar. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived at the imperial camp, was graciously received by Aurungzebe, who ordered him immediately to march against the Mharattas and Pinderrehs. The khan, accordingly, with Raow Dulput, Ram Sing Harrah, and other chiefs, moved to the spot where the besieged had repulsed Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and reconnoitred it carefully. The enemy, confiding in the natural strength of the place and their numbers, made a great shew of resistance; but the khan soon drove them away with a very great slaughter, upon which they fled for shelter to Tulwarreh, close under the hill near the gate of the fort. Zoolfeccar drove other bodies from several posts, killing great numbers of the enemy, and losing several of his own men, who gallantly pursued too near the ditch. Cheen Koollich Khan, who remained all the while an inactive spectator, and who, if he had joined in the assaults, might have been of great service, complained on his return that he was not assisted by Zoolfeccar Khan, and was believed by his majesty. The next day Zoolfeccar Khan went to fix on proper places for erecting batteries, and a body of horse and foot came out to oppose him, but were soon repulsed by Dulput Raow, and fled to the hill. Some days after this, Daood Khan Punnee joined from the Carnatic, and Zoolfeccar Khan with his troops and some other amras gained possession of two eminences near the gate. Jumshed Khan, an ameer of five thousand, was killed by a ball in the attack. Day and night were now employed in erecting batteries. Intelligence arrived, that Kunnoput, who was advancing with a large body of Mharattas to relieve the fort, had died on the march, and that the lately conquered fort of Kundaneh was retaken by the enemy. The besieged, who were now greatly alarmed at the gallantry and success of Zoolfeccar Khan, made serious proposals of submission; and the prince Kaum Bukhsh with Cheen Koollich Khan were ordered to examine them, and manage the negotiation; but
this

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this did not prevent Zoofcecar Khan, who was not to be diverted by their stratagems, from carrying on vigorous hostilities. He divided his army into two bodies, and with one, in person, attacked the town of Tulwarreh, close under the fort, which he carried, after a very bloody assault. The enemy then took shelter in the fort, and annoyed the troops with rockets and musquetry from the walls, but to no purpose; so that in the evening Ponapah, with the Mharatta chiefs, being quite disheartened, made their escape by a private road behind the fort. Raow Dulput seeing that all firing from the walls had ceased, and hearing no noise, ventured up to the fort, and finding it empty, set the houses on fire. Munsoor-Khan was ordered to take possession, and Zoofcecar Khan sent to inform and congratulate the emperor. The fire continued burning the whole night and the next day, when a magazine of powder blew up, and killed many people. An accident of the same kind happened the next day also. The fort of Wakin Kerah is of no great strength, but requires a very large garrison to defend it.

Zoofcecar Khan was not properly rewarded for this victory, the praise of which was bestowed upon others, who had no share in it, yet had the address to make the emperor reprove the khan for having let the enemy escape unmolested. The royal ear indeed had long been possessed by a few designing men, who diverted him from attending to his most useful servants, which gave much disgust, and weakened the affections of the army to the royal person.

Zoofcecar Khan was sent to punish the zemindars about Koolburga and Khankernce, and to escort the imperial elephants and horses to Aurungabad. Terbeut Khan was dispatched with an army to retake Kundaneh, about three coss from which the emperor now erected cantonments. Zoofcecar Khan, after settling the contributions of Koolburga and other places, moved to Aurungabad, where he

he remained some time, and dispatched Mogul Khan with treasure and supplies to the imperial camp. Intelligence arriving that Neema Sindia was plundering the pergunnah of Bertoo, five and twenty cofs from Aurungabad, though Zoolfeccar Khan had sent great part of his troops to escort treasure to the royal camp, he did not wait for their return, but moved by forced marches, and the enemy fled as he approached. He did not give over the pursuit, but followed them to their baggage camp, to defend which they made a stand, and were completely defeated, with the loss of several of their chiefs, and all their baggage and plunder fell into the hands of the victors, who returned in triumph to Aurungabad. This was that body of the enemy who had laid waste the province of Malwa as far as Seronje.

Zoolfeccar Khan was again summoned to the imperial presence, but being taken ill, was obliged to delay his march for some time. Upon his recovery he obeyed, and had an audience of the emperor at Bahadur Ghur, who had moved there to keep the Ramazan. Seyadut Khan, who had gone out to hunt with a small party from the camp, was made prisoner by a body of the enemy. The emperor at this time was taken dangerously ill; upon which the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was called with great haste from Guzarat to the presence.

Zoolfeccar Khan with Terbeut Khan, meer atush, was sent with a considerable army to retake Kundaneh; and raja Saooh, Sambah's son, who had been confined long in the Ruggelah Bar, was delivered over to his custody. Roy Bhan Bhoosela Mharatta, who had been raised to the rank of six thousand, was also sent with him, in hopes that by his means the other chiefs might be prevailed upon to submit and conclude a peace. Zoolfeccar Khan entrusted the guard over Raja Saooh to syed Ghuzunfir Khan. The emperor gave instructions, that as dissensions had now broken out among the Mharattas,

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Mharattas, letters should be written from Raja Saoooh to invite them, to submit. This was done, but without effect. Ten thousand were struck off from the rank of sultan Kaum Bukhs; who had been guilty of some undutiful behaviour.

Aurangzebe marched from Bahadur Ghur to Ahmednuggur, and on the route the enemy committed great insults on the line. Hummeed ad Dien Khan was ordered to repulse them; but he committed the charge to his officers, who were soon defeated, and many of them taken prisoners. The enemy then charged the baggage, and carried off a vast plunder; but when the emperor's train came in sight, they, as if struck with awe at the tremendous pomp of majesty, retired and looked on quietly at a distance, which was at this period the greatest good fortune. The royal camp halted under the walls of Ahmednuggur. Gopal Raow Chanderaowt, being much distressed in his circumstances, deserted to the enemy.

Dhunnah Jadoo, Neema Sindia, and Odooah Mulhar, with other Mharatta chiefs, surrounded the imperial camp at Ahmednuggur, but were bravely repulsed and obliged to fly by Khan Aulum, son of Khan Zummaun. Zoolfeccar Khan reduced the fort of Kundaneh, and the besieged capitulated through the mediation of Ram Sing Harrah, at whose request they were allowed to depart in safety.

There are above an hundred fine wells in this fort. Munfoor Khan was appointed kelladaar, but proper stores of provisions could not be spared for its support; and this was the case with all the forts which had been taken in Dekkan, where the long wars and continual depredations had rendered all the necessaries of life exceedingly scarce. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw arrived from Guzarat at Ahmednuggur, and had an affecting meeting with the emperor,
Ibrahim

Ibrahim Khan, son of the late Alimerdan Khan, was removed from the government of Cashmire and appointed to that of Guzarat, of which the prince Bedar Bukht was ordered to take charge until his arrival, and punish the rebel Anoomund, who, from being a seller of drams, had practised robbing, and by his successes raised himself to the command of a large body of banditti, with whom he had joined the Mharattas. This rebel, on the departure of Azim Shaw, finding Guzarat unprotected, had entered the province, where he defeated and took prisoner Nuzzer Ali Khan, the fojedaur of Brodrah, a very wealthy town, inhabited by capital merchants and bankers, whom he plundered of an immense booty, and made a secure retreat with his prize.

Great bodies of banditti plundered at discretion about Aurungabad, and the zemindars of Multan and Tatta rebelled, but were quelled by sultan Moiz ad Dien, who on this occasion displayed great gallantry and conduct. Khan Aulum was sent to protect the province of Malwa, and Nijabut Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan were both ordered to drive the enemy from Aurungabad. Zoolfeccar Khan sent his baggage into Ahmednuggur, and moved by forced marches, but upon his arrival near Payen Ghaut, he learned that the enemy had fled another way to the banks of the Gung. Ghazi ad Dien Khan had remained all this while inactive, only ten cofs from the enemy's camp. Zoolfeccar Khan still pursued them without remission, and at last they crossed the Beemrah into their own districts; upon which, finding the country clear and the rains setting in, he returned to the imperial camp. His troops in this pursuit suffered every hardship from want of provisions and excessive fatigue. He next marched towards the fort of Moorje, upon which Dhunnah crossed the Kistnah. Intelligence arrived, that Ponapah Pinderreh and Hindoo Raow had possessed themselves of the fort of Bilcondah, belonging to Beejapore, and taken the kelladaar prisoner; also that the fort of Bus-

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sunt Ghur had fallen into their hands. Daood Khan recovered the former to the imperial possession. Seyadut Khan procured his release from the enemy for a large sum of money, but he was rendered blind of both eyes from the wounds he had received. Zoofseccar Khan encamped, on account of the rains, within twelve cofs of Moorje, but was so distressed for provisions that his cavalry became almost unfit for service.

When Shaw Jehaun sent the sultan Dará Shekkoh against Candahar, he gave the soldiery two years' pay in advance, and sent two years of grain with the army. During his whole reign, the single war of the rana was the only one that gave trouble. Aurungzebe's reign had been a continued war, and now, even in the royal camp at Ahmednuggur, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Kistnah, scarce any provisions could be obtained.

Zoofseccar Khan after the rains pursued Dhunnah, who fled to the Beejapore country, and the khan followed him to the banks of the Kistnah. The Pinderrehs took Velore, which however was soon again retaken by Terbeut Khan. Sultan Mahummud Akber died this year in Persia. A great caravan, very rich, coming from Aurungabad was totally plundered, and every thing carried off by a body of Mharattas, at only twelve cofs distance from the imperial camp.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhsh was promoted, honoured with presents, and appointed to the soubadary of Beejapore; and at parting, the emperor, weeping, permitted him to beat the nobut from the gate of the palace. The twenty first of the same month, Zeehidge, the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was dispatched towards Malwa. Rama's widow, who had great power among the Mharattas, wished to confine Hindoo Raow, but he took refuge

fuge in the fort of Koorkul. Dhunnah plundered all his effects, and closely besieged him; upon which he sent to beg assistance of Zoolfeccar Khan, who crossed the Kistnah, and, leaving his baggage in the fort of Sundeo, marched against Dhunnah, who fled upon his approach, when Hindoo Raow took shelter in his own country, and Zoolfeccar Khan then retreated.

A few days after this the emperor was seized with his last illness, which encreased every hour, and alarming reports prevailed; till on Friday, the twenty eighth of Zeekaud, in the fiftieth A. H. 1118. year and second month of his reign, he left this vain life of toil, A. D. 1707. for one of blissful repose.

END OF AURUNGZEBE's OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.



PART IV.
HISTORY
OF
AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS,
BY
ERADUT KHAN.

APOLOGY.

A GREAT number of the Memoirs of Eradut Khan having been formerly printed off in the year 1786, and sufficient remaining on hand for the purpose, I hope my readers will excuse their being bound up in the order of connection and time. To my liberal friends, the regular numbering of pages will, I trust, be of less moment than the contents; the reprinting of which would have added very greatly to my expense, and but little to their accommodation; especially as Eradut Khan gives a much more satisfactory account of transactions than any other writer of the same period, whom I could have translated in his place.

The following account of the author of the Memoirs is taken from the *Mafier al Amra, or Biography of Nobility, written by Sumfam ad Dowlah Shaw-nowauz Khan, prime minister to Sullabut Jung, brother and predecessor in power to the present Nazim of Dekkan.

Meer

* Which I had not seen, till favoured with it lately by Mr. R. Johnson, who, in his residency with the nizam at Hyderabad, collected many curious Persian manuscripts relative to Dekkan, which he with great liberality has permitted me to make use of.

APOLOGY.

Meer Moobaric Oollah Eradut Khan Wazeh, was the son of * Ifauk Khan, son of Azim Khan. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank. The former was Meer Bukhshi to the emperor, Jehaungeer, and the latter held various offices of importance under Shaw Jhaun and Aulumgeer. He died soon after his appointment to the government of Oude. His title was also Eradut Khan. One of his sons (our author) had his title conferred upon him, and in the thirty third year of Aulumgeer was appointed fojedaure of Jagneh, and at other periods, of Aurungabad and Mando in Malwa. In the reign of Shaw Aulum he was governor of the Doab, and the intimate friend of Moazim Khan Vizier. He died in the time of Ferokhsere. His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him. His son was honoured by the title of Hoshedaur Khan, and afterwards with that of Eradut Khan, and the fojedaur of Doohiperayeah in the province of Malwa. In the sixth year of Mahummud Shaw, he attended Asoph Jah to Dekkan, and after the victory over Mubariz Khan was appointed dewan of Dekkan, with the rank of four thousand. He was afterwards governor of Koolburga, and died in the year 1157, [A. D. 1744.] He had many sons, most of whom died in his life time. His eldest surviving son, Hafiz Khan, succeeded him in the government of Koolburga, which he held at the time Shaw-nowauz Khan wrote the Biography of the Amras.

* Afterwards entitled Keffaiut Khan.

T O
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

S I R,

PERMIT me to dedicate this Translation to you, who so amply patronized my attempts to make myself useful to my honourable employers, when in India. The distinction you were pleased to confer upon me, by an appointment in your family, and the favour of your friendship, I shall ever regard as honours of which I may reasonably boast: and I trust a time will come, when far more important pages than mine will acquire merit with the nation, from being adorned with the name of HASTINGS.

I am, S I R,

Your most obedient

And grateful humble servant,

LONDON,
12th May, 1786.

JONATHAN SCOTT.

O R I G I N A L

P R E F A C E.

THUS sayeth the compiler of these records and events, an humble and sinful slave, 'Moobaric Oollah - Eradut Khan 'Wazeh, son of the 'sheltered in mercy, 'Keffaiut Khan, writer of the 'Shekest: When I had finished the 'Kulmaut Alecaut, it entered my mind to draw up a concise relation of what events had happened to myself, while I was composing that work.

¹ Anglicè, Blessed of God.

² The author's title of nobility, signifying The Faithful Lord.

³ His poetical name, by which he chose to signify himself in his poems; Anglicè, Clear. Eastern authors always use one.

⁴ The Mussulmauns, when mentioning a deceased person, never say such a one who is dead, but such a one sheltered in mercy, received in pardon, or some similar expression. When mentioning a deceased prince, they say the prince whose seat is in Paradise.

⁵ Anglicè, The serviceable.

⁶ The broken hand, generally used in business.

⁷ Anglicè, Sublime Discourses. This work I never could obtain, though I made strict enquiry after it.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

I have observed, that delightful scenes, and the society of friends, are not so striking at the time of enjoyment, as afterwards, when reflected in the mirror of recollection. On this account, I write down most passing occurrences; and whenever I peruse them, or ruminate upon them, a particular feeling, a surprising pleasure and astonishing extasy, prevail in my mind. My writings also serve as a memorial to my friends.

During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy Hijera, such wonders of time, such astonishing marks of the power of the Creator of night and day, in the vicissitudes of worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men, and rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred, in such number or succession, in a thousand years.

As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what, to others, even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight; and as I was a sharer, as well as spectator,

of

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings, or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened within my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend, writing to a friend, would use for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation. I hope, therefore, that my readers will not loosen the reins of impartiality from their hands, nor call my modesty, ignorance.

TO THE

R E A D E R

IT will be necessary to remember, that Aurungzebe is the same person with Aulumgeer. He took the latter title on his accession to the throne, agreeable to the custom of the eastern princes, who always assume a new one on that occasion.

It is hoped that the number of notes will not prove tedious; nor perplex the reader's attention. Some, perhaps, may appear trivial to those whose local knowledge renders such assistance, to them, unnecessary; but, as their number is comparatively very small with those who require it, the translator requests the indulgence of the few, in compliment to the many.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

M O G U L E M P I R E,

B Y

ERADUT KHAN WAZE H.

I SHALL begin my narration from the time of my removal from the command of the fortrefs of 'Imteeauz Gur. For the duties of that office I had entertained numerous followers, a tenth of a tenth of whom, the suddenness of my recall rendered me incapable of paying; but, as my life was yet to remain, I made my ² escape from among them in the best manner I could, with my family.

On account of my distressed circumstances, and the great distance of my late command from the Imperial camp, in order that I

¹ An important fortrefs in Dekkan, or the southern part of Hindostan. It is called Oodneh by the Hindoos, and is now in possession of the Mharattas, who retook it soon after the death of the Emperor Aulumgeer.

² To be obliged to fly from their own troops, is frequently the case with the nobles of Hindostan, on recall from office, or other emergency, as they generally keep up more than they can pay with regularity.

might take some repose, his majesty had conferred upon me the government of ¹ Ahssunabad Koolburgah, where I remained one month; and then, leaving my dearest son, ² Huddaiut Oolla, as my deputy in that station, I proceeded with a few followers to the ³ Stirrup. I had the honour of an audience in ⁴ Pargur, while his majesty was engaged in the reduction of ⁵ Kundaneh. He shewed me much favour, nor had any change taken place in his esteem and regard towards me. I was stationed, during the siege, four coss distant from the camp, on the only road of communication then left, as I had been successfully employed on the like service, since the commencement of the reduction of Dekkan, at ⁶ Beejapore, ⁷ Hyderabad, and other places. Though the enemy now was very numerous, and plundered even to the skirts of the camp, yet, by the divine assistance, I maintained my post with a very trifling force. For this service, I was honoured with much applause by his majesty, and my reputation with the public became high. Additional rank was also conferred, as a reward, on my dearest son, and other relations, at Koolburgah.

¹ A city, formerly the capital of the Bhamenee sovereigns of Dekkan, Ferishta's History of whom, and the succeeding Dynasties, has been translated, and will one day be offered to the public, should their approbation await this attempt. It is now of little note, and in possession of the Nizam.

² Anglicè, directed by God.

³ Meaning the emperor's person, when travelling.

⁴ A fortress in Dekkin.

⁵ Another in ditto.

⁶ Once the capital of the Adil Shawee Sultans of Dekkan, and celebrated for its magnificence. It was reduced by Aulumgeer, with all the dependencies, except what the famous Mharatta chief, Sewajee, who was a rebellious vassal of this monarchy, had wrested from it. It is now ruined, and in possession of the Mharattas. Europeans have generally written it Visapour, but the Mussulmauns as above.

⁷ This city was the capital of Golconda and Koottub Shawee sultans, the last of whom was taken prisoner by Aulumgeer, and his kingdom reduced. It is now one of the capitals of the Nizam, who is however obliged to share the revenues with the Mharattas.

After the reduction of ¹ Kundaneh and ² Raujegur, the emperor moved to another quarter. He had desired several of the principal nobility to accept the command of the latter, as it was of importance, and but newly conquered; but it being a post only of difficulty, they had all requested to be excused. One evening therefore he sent for me, and my son ³ Moraud Khan, and when I had entered the presence, said, "I wish to send thee to Raujegur, art thou willing to go?" I replied, that his slave was ready; upon which he gave me part of the coffee before him, and ordered that, having drank it in the ⁴ Aubdar Khauneh, I should come back, and receive my dismissal. When I returned to the presence, his majesty gave me his blessing, two hundred mhors, and one coin weighing one hundred ⁵ mhors, with two horses to me and my son, and five for my bretheren. Two hundred bullock loads of grain were also ordered with me; and the following day, after morning prayer, I departed. At taking leave, his majesty promised that I should be relieved before the rainy season, then about two months distant.

By the auspices of the divine blessing, I arrived in safety at my station in eight days, and remained there forty; during which, from the solitude and romantic situation of the place, my leisure passed in pleasingly enthusiastic contemplation. ⁶ Munsoor Khan was then

¹ A fortress in Dekkan.

² Another in ditto.

³ Anglicè, object of desire.

⁴ The place in which water, sherbets, &c. are cooled in ice or saltpetre.

⁵ Golden coins, of this and greater weight, were often given as marks of favour. Silver coins, of several hundred rupees value, were also in use; and there is one of them now in the British Museum, of which the ingenious Mr. Richardson has given a very full description, in his very learned work, the Persian and Arabic Dictionary.

⁶ Victorious. It is, perhaps, not yet quite unnecessary to mention, that every proper name or title of persons, in the Persian, and frequently in the Hindoo language,

then sent to relieve me, and his majesty wrote with his own hand on the firman of recall, that, agreeably to his promise, he commanded me to the presence; to which were added many gracious assurances of favour. I left Rajegur with the same force I had come; but as it was a great distance from the camp, and parties of the enemy were hovering abroad, at several places I was much pressed. On my arrival at the presence, I was received with great favour.

Being now again in the same situation as when I quitted Imteeauz Gur, (for my jagheer had been ruined by various depredations,) I was much distressed in my affairs; when his majesty, who was informed of every thing public and private, sent Ameer Khan to me with a message, importing, that, as distress had invaded my affairs, I had better seek a little repose in some settled office, and that he would confer upon me the * Kelladaree and * Fojedaree of * Mandou, then held by * Nowazul Khan, who, though an ameer of three thousand, was unequal to the post.

My attachment and regard to his majesty were so great, that, observing his life verging to the close, I did not wish to quit the

is an epithet descriptive of some quality in them on whom it is conferred, or the donor supposes them to possess: but, of late years, titles of honour are become so common, as to lose their respect; and there are many victorious lords of Hindostan, who never saw a battle, or drew a sword against an enemy.

* Noble.

* Command of a garrison.

* Military authority in a district, under which are the criminal courts of justice.

* A very extensive fortress in the province of Malwa, of which it was the capital under the Patan sovereigns. It is now much decayed, and in possession of the Mharattas.

* Possessing affability.

presence,

presence, fearful of never beholding him more, and therefore declined the offer; but, when my son and the women of my family heard of the refusal, they became immersed in grief, for the Soubah of Malwa was to them dear as their native place. The disappointment of my son was such, that he privately resolved to give up the service, and leave me; and my whole family were heartless and in despair. At length, overcome by their situation, and indeed they had justice on their side, I, in spite of my own grief, said to my son, "The power is in thy hands; I resign myself as a ransom for thy happiness." The soul of my life went the same evening to Ameer Khan, and informed him of my acceptance of this office. As that minister was pleased with my consenting on many accounts, he represented it to the emperor the same night, when the affair was settled. Alas! how can I express what passed within my own breast? The following morning, at the assembly of justice, his majesty bestowed upon me a horse and ² khelaut, and the same upon my son and grandson. It was also allowed me, at my particular request, to come daily to pay my respects at the presence, till the grants of my new office could be prepared; and though my posts of ³ Meer Tozuk and ⁴ Darogah of the Dekkan cavalry were given to others, yet, from his majesty's gracious favor, I was permitted to exercise the duties of them till I left the camp.

¹ It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this noble usage was discontinued by the successors of Aulumgeer, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects.

² An honorary dress given always to persons entering into office, and frequently by a superior to an inferior, as a mark of esteem. It is varied, in richness of materials, and number of garments, according to the rank of the receiver.

³ A marshal, whose business it is to preserve order in a procession, or line of march, and to report absentees.

⁴ Superintendant, who examines the number of men and horses, to check false musters.

On the evening before my departure, the emperor opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Absence now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive, then, whatever willingly, or unwillingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly, or otherwise, thou mayest have done against me." Upon hearing these expressions, my sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last, after his majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made shift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire. Sorrow lay so heavy upon my mind, that, upon my arrival at ¹ Aurungabad, I was seized with a violent illness; but, as my borrowed life was not yet required, the soul and body did not separate. Until my arrival at Mandou, I was unable to move, without help, from my bed to my seat. My son remained in the fort with me only one night, and then departed for his command at ² Koterree Perrayeh. I remained one year immersed in the same grief and sorrow.

The prince Mahummud ³ Bedar Bukht being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my respects to him at ⁴ Oojein. In

¹ A considerable city, founded by Aulumgeer before his accession to the throne, near the celebrated fortrefs of Dowlutabad in Dekkan. He named it Khojestehe Boonmaud, or The Happy Mansion; but the people called it Aurungabad, in compliment to his title of Aurungzebe, by which Aulumgeer was distinguished before he seized the empire.

² A district in Malwa.

³ Signifying wakeful star, or propitious fortune. He was the eldest son of Azim Shaw.

⁴ Supposed to be one of the oldest cities in India, and is at present the capital of Malwa, and of Mahajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief.

a short time, such a friendship grew between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me: he would not eat of any thing, but he sent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive. In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but, on this account, I became envied by all his dependants.

Soon after this, the illustrious prince Mahummud¹ Azim Shaw, coming from Guzarat to visit the emperor, passed through Malwa, on his route to² Ahmednuggur. From the favour he had beheld me in with his father, my attention to himself, and the unbounded praises of his son Bedar Bukht, he behaved to me in such a gracious manner, as to relate would occasion prolixity. When he had gone through Malwa, the government of Guzarat was conferred on Bedar Bukht, who departed for that province, and took me with him as far as the frontiers, beyond which I dared not pass without leave from the emperor. How shall I express his manner of parting? He made me promise to write him weekly, and said, that he would favour me as often with letters under his own hand, including every important occurrence, in order to have the benefit of my advice for his conduct. This sort of correspondence was kept up between us regularly, till the life of his majesty shadow³ of God arrived at an end. I must now relate some particulars of that important event⁴.

A.H. 11
A.C. 17
Feb. 21

The

¹ Signifying great king. He was the third by birth, but second surviving son of Aulumgeer.

² A considerable city of Dekkan, once the capital of the Nizam Shawee sultans, reduced to the Mogul yoke under Shaw Jehaun, but now under the Mharattas.

³ An epithet common to majesty, with all the orientals.

⁴ It may not be amiss to insert here two letters written by Aulumgeer to his sons, Azim Shaw and Kaum Bukht, a few days before his death.

The emperor, a few days before his death, with a strictness of command seldom to be enforced by monarchs at such a season, dispatched

To SHAW AZIM SHAW.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Beejapore, is still near; and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shaw Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAUM BUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of complance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion.

The

dispatched the prince Azim Shaw towards Malwa, and Kaum Bukh to his government of Beejapore. His reason for this proceeding was, that no feuds might arise upon his death, in an enemy's country; between his sons, to endanger the repose of his subjects. Had the two princes remained together in the camp, such would have been the case, as occurred afterwards on the death of Shaw Aulum, whose four sons were together in the camp, when, though not in an enemy's country, the families, fortunes and honour of a world became plunged in the depth of ruin.

Azim Shaw, though knowing the dangerous illness of his father, dared not disobey the orders of march. He departed from the camp, but his motions were slow and cautious; nor did the emperor press him to expedition, after the three first marches. He

The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.

even said to Hummeed ad'dien Khan, to whom he had committed the charge of his funeral rites, "Three days after my death, one of my sons will arrive in camp, and send my remains to Aurungabad in a proper manner." On Friday the twenty-eighth of Zeekaud, his majesty performed his morning devotions in company with his attendants, after which, as was frequently his custom, he exclaimed, "O that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after, he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun the tumtum, as was always his custom till water for the wuzzoo could be brought, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his most pure spirit fled from the narrowness of corporeal confinement, to the boundless expansion of the Most High. We are from God, and to God we must return. His hands remained clasped, and in motion, for some time after he had ceased to breathe. How can I express my own feelings? This much I know, that the kindness, favour and distinction, for fifty years, of that atom-cherishing sun to me, his humble slave, his great actions, his glory, his piety, his perseverance in virtue from youth to age, the revolutions of his reign, and all the wonderful events of time, rushed upon my memory at once in a sea of grief, and overwhelmed my heart, so that I forgot myself, and knew not what passed around me.

Azim Shaw, being informed of the event by his agents, and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the third.

¹ Anglicè, Aider of the faith.

² A purification by sprinkling of dust over the body, ordered by Mahummud for the convenience of his followers inhabiting the dry deserts of Arabia, where water is too valuable for the poor to use on slight occasions.

³ Ditto with water

of ¹ Zeehudge at the camp at Ahmednuggur. He omitted no shew of affection and respect to his deceased father, but, like the orphans of those in humble life, shed many tears.

Many of the chief imperial servants, as ² Muttullub Khan, ³ Khoddabundeh Khan, ⁴ Terbeut Khan, and others, had a real attachment to Azim Shaw. Some neither loved or hated him; and a few, though they disliked, yet, from inability to oppose, prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mogul chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance, ⁵ Feeroze Jung, his son Cheen Koollich Khan, and ⁶ Mahummud Ameen Khan.

On the tenth of Zeehuge, 1118, Azim Shaw ascended the A.C. 17 throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings; and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. Here I must be permitted to mention one or two instances of the wonderful accomplishment of the decrees of Providence. While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to Azim Shaw, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, from his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Shaw Aulum, relin-

¹ The twelfth month of the Arabian year.

² Anglice, Object of the wish.

³ Slave of God.

⁴ Accomplished in manners and morals.

⁵ Fortunate in war.

⁶ Faithful in Mahummud.

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quishing to him such a vast empire as Hindostan, without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time, he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedar Bukht, whose favour with the late emperor had displeased him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly, that they were not fit for his service. He removed Terbeut Khan, a veteran and loyal general, from his command of the artillery, in the most insulting manner, without any notice, and conferred that important station on a young man of low rank among his creatures. In short, I cannot enumerate all the ill omens to the fortune of Azim Shaw, which proved the will of Providence to have decreed heaven bestowed empire to Shaw Aulum. He who prideth in himself is ruined. When the will of God hath decreed an event, all things aid the accomplishment.

Mahummud Kaum Buksh received intelligence of the emperor's death, on his third day's march from Ahmednuggur, and was immediately deserted by Mahummud Ameen Khan, and all the Tooraanee Moguls, though they had been purposely appointed for his protection, at this crisis, by Aulumgeer. In addition to this misfortune, Zoolfeccar Khan, his bitterest enemy, who had once confined him at the siege of ^a Jinjee, lay in his route with a considerable army, so that it was probable his person would be seized by this nobleman, in order to obtain the favour of the new emperor. Azim Shaw had dispatched orders to that effect; but Zoolfeccar Khan, either from policy or compassion, did not obey them, and Kaum Buksh arrived in safety at Beejapore, which he was al-

^a Anglicè, Lord of the destroying weapon. This was the name of a scymetar belonging to Ali, son-in-law to the prophet.

^b A celebrated fortress in the Carnatic.

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lowed to keep, as his brother, being eager to quit Dekkan, did not endeavour to remove him.

Azim Shaw now proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra, by regular stages, as if the principal of a caravan, and taking the route of Toomree, quitted the broad and easy road of Akberpore, on his left; proving, by this imprudent step, that, when destiny is unfavourable, man always doeth that which is wrong. The route of Toomree was hilly, full of woods, and, for many long spaces, void of water; so that, during two days march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals, perished through fatigue and thirst. It was remarked by numbers, at the time, that this foreboded evil to the fortune of Azim Shaw; for he had rashly neglected the example of his father Aulumgeer, who, when marching against 'Dara Shekkoh, had chosen the route of Akberpore.

I must now return to the affairs of Bedar Bukht, whom it was my fortune to join. This prince, on the death of Aulumgeer, received orders from his father, Azim Shaw, to march immediately from Guzarat, and proceed towards Lahore, to prevent the advance of Shaw Aulum from Cabul. Bedar Bukht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him; and on that account the father and son became jealous of each other. Upon receipt of the melancholy news, he was overwhelmed with real grief, which dwelt long upon his mind; for, when I saw him afterwards at Oojein, he would frequently weep at recollection of his loss. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Guzarat without delay, at the head of only three thousand

* A most excellent and authentic account of this prince's adventures and misfortunes may be seen in Bernier's Travels, which are bound up in Churchill's and Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. Dow also details them; but I prefer Bernier's account, as more artless.

horse, his own dependants, and carried with him, about thirty lacks of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch 'twenty lacks in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a 'colone of rupees from the bankers and renters, by way of loan, without oppression, as did 'Moraud Buksh, when he marched from this province against Dara Shekkoh.

On the eve of his march, he dispatched a letter to me and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers, who had orders to search all messengers, and inspect letters. As the prince expected me on the frontiers of Malwa, he was much disappointed on his arrival there, and repeatedly exclaimed, "What can have happened, "to prevent the coming of Eradut Khan?" My enemies, and several envious persons, took occasion to defame me, saying, that I would never join him, for, knowing the jealousy between him and his father, who was now emperor, I was gone to court his favour. In this manner did my enemies address him, till he arrived near Oojein; when, not finding me there, in spite of his regard and reliance upon me, suspicion found room in his mind of my fidelity.

* Two hundred thousand pounds.

† One million ditto.

‡ Anglice, Accomplisher of the wish. Youngest son of the emperor Shaw Jehaun, and brother to Aulumgeer, who, having made use of him to attain the defeat of his elder brothers, confined him in the fortress of Gualiar, and afterwards had him put to death, on his being tried and condemned for murder, on the accusation of a dependant, whose father he had executed for some crime, when in power. Aulumgeer was obliged to displace the first judge before whom the cause was brought, as he refused to give sentence, saying, that a prince putting a man to death in the exercise of his authority, for a crime, ought not to be accounted murder.

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At length, on the first of 'Mohirrim, the prince's letters were brought me altogether, and immediately after, having loaded a small tent and some necessaries on two trained camels, I departed from Mandou, leaving the fortress in charge of my dear relation and friend, Meer Sunjir. A.H. 1
A.C. 1

The prince had been for some time encamped near Oojein, waiting for the lucky day to make his entry into that city, so that by chance I reached the camp at the instant of good fortune. He was moving in his ² nallekee towards the town, when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Eradut Khan that I see?" And was scarcely answered, when I came up. He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms, cried, "Come, come my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been stretched, even to dimness." I kissed his feet, and presented my offering. He pressed my head to his bosom, and taking off his ³ neem-asteen, put it on my shoulders. His first words were lamentations mingled with tears, for the deceased emperor his grandfather, for whom he knew the sincerity of my grief. He then ordered me to mount my horse, and ride near him; and, as we proceeded to the city, related all that had happened to himself, and his anxiety at not meeting me on the borders of the province. When I had satisfied him for my delay, he commanded those who had spoken against me to quit his presence, with much displeasure, and refused to admit them again for many days.

¹ The first month of the Arabian year.

² A canopied litter peculiar to the princes, and allowed now and then to some few great officers of state. It is generally of rich materials, and often entirely of silver. It is carried on the shoulders of twelve or sixteen bearers, on three poles, one on each side, like our sedans, and the third running under the middle of the machine.

³ An upper robe with half-sleeves, commonly made of gold or silver tissue. For a prince, or person of high rank, to confer any part of his own dress on an inferior, is accounted a very great honour to the receiver.

MEMOIRS OF THE

Bedar Bukht did not remain in the palace of Oojein ; but, after viewing the city, pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a cofs distant. Here he was attended by ' Abdoollah Khan, the soubadar of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days, expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following firmaun:

“ “ Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the boats in the
“ ‘ Suttulludge, to prevent the approach of the enemy ? Though
“ he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect.”

Soon after my arrival in camp, the prince sent a ‘ Nisshaun, with the following words in his own hand, to my dear son ‘ Huddaiut Oollah Khan, then Fojedaur of a district of about two days journey from Oojein.

“ Your father, one of my most esteemed dependants, attends
“ the stirrup. I am surprized that you have not as yet come to the
“ presence.”

My son, in reply, wrote to the prince, that he should shortly seek the honour of an audience ; but privately to me, desiring that I would represent to his highness, what respect would not permit him to mention himself. This was, that though I had no force under me, yet my attendance and advice might be of use ; but that he, unless at the head of troops, could do no service ; that he had then with him two thousand veteran soldiers, all his followers for twenty years, who would accompany him without the limits of his

* Slave of God.

* One of the five great rivers between Cabul and Lahore.

* The letters of the emperor are styled firmauns, those of princes, nishauns.

* Directed by God.

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government. Of these he had sent a return to the prince, whom he would immediately attend, on the advance of a month's pay to enable him to march ; but without that they must be excused.

His highness, in answer to this message, said to me, " To give Huddaiut Oollah this sum, or much greater, I would not hesitate ; but, alas ! should I call in such a force, as your attachment to me has been represented to my father in a suspicious view by interested persons, he would instantly, on the junction of your son's troops, be convinced of my disloyalty, and turn his arms from Shaw Aulum against me. Write this to your son." I did so ; and he declined coming to the camp, writing to me the following words : " I resign you to the protection of a gracious God, since I am prevented by my ill-fortune from paying my duty in person. I wish you could leave the party with which you are engaged, as I see destiny will to it prove unfavorable." God be praised, that from his prudent caution, my dear son remained secure from the ensuing troubles.

Bedar Bukht, agreeable to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by Zoofeccar Khan, Ram Sing Harrah, zemindar of ¹ Koteh, and Dulput ² Bonedela, also Amaun Oolla Khan, who were sent by Azim Shaw,

¹ A principal zemindary in Malwa, now much circumscribed by the Mharattas, who allow the raja, a descendant of Ram Sing's, but a very small proportion of his lands.

² The Bonedela tribe of Rajapootes are the possessors of Bonedelcund, an extensive tract, lying partly in the Agra, and partly in the province of Allahabad. Their proper chief, the raja of Oorcha, descended from Ber Sing Deo, the founder of the family importance, possesses but little territory, far the greatest part having been wrested from his house by Chutterfaul, one of a younger branch of the Bonedelas, whose descendants now hold his estates jointly with the Mharattas, who have a third part of the lands, and produce of the diamond mines of Pirna.

as much to guard the prince's motions as to assist him. ¹ Meerza Raja Jey Sing, ² Khan Aulum a Dekkan chief, with his brother ³ Munnower Khan, and other officers, also joined from the presence, with about six thousand horse.

The prince ⁴ Mahummud Azeem Ooshawn, who had, by Aulumgeer's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of the emperor's decease; upon which he marched to secure that city for his father, Shaw Aulum. ⁵ Mukhtar Khan, the soubadar, who was attached to Azim Shaw, and father-in-law to Bedar Bukht, hoping to impede his progress, sunk all the boats in the Jumna, and placed guards at the nearest fords. But, alas! what power had such a vassal to face the son of his decreed sovereign? The prince moved higher up, and having crossed the river, took him prisoner; but regarding his former services, and those of his

¹ Zemindar of a considerable territory in the province of Ajmere, named Ambeer; but since this prince's founding a new city called Jeypore, the rajaship has also taken that name. Jeypore is reckoned the most regular built city in Hindostan, and Europeans, who have seen it, speak highly of its magnificence. Jey Sing was a great encourager of science, and built several observatories for astronomical studies. He also erected a caravanserai and market in every province of Hindostan, for the convenience of travellers, at his own expence. The present raja of Jeypore, his grand-nephew, possesses the city, but not much territory, part of which has been seized by vassals of his family, and part by the Mharattas and Mogul chiefs, to both of whom he is tributary. Jeypore is the great mart for horses from Persia and the northern provinces of Hindostan; and the old citadel of Ambeer, close to it, is said to contain vast wealth laid up by Jey Sing. This will probably one day fall into the hands of the Mharattas, if they are not soon diverted from their operations in this part of India, by troubles in Dekkan, that shall furnish them employment nearer home.

² Anglicè, Lord of the world.

³ Enlightened lord

⁴ Anglicè, Of high dignity, second son of Shaw Aulum, the eldest surviving son of Aulumgeer.

⁵ Anglicè, Powerful lord.

family,

family, did not offer him personal injuries. It had as yet been the usage of the princes of this illustrious house, though a nobleman according to his connections with one of them, appeared against another in the field, that the victor did not put him to death, or disgrace him. On the contrary, the fidelity and valour displayed by him, in the cause of a defeated rival, were sure recommendations to the conqueror's favour. The princes knew that the stability of power and regulation of empire rested on the support of an experienced nobility, and they would frequently observe, "that their
 " enmity was not to the throne; for whenever a prince became
 " fixed upon it, they were faithful subjects. If then we destroy
 " them, through whom can we administer the government." By this wise policy of the Imperial family, the rules and order of the extensive empire of Hindostan remained uninjured by the quarrels of the princes.—But to return to my subject.

When Mahummud Bedar Bukht approached the banks of the ¹Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived near ²Gualiar, Azeem Ooshawn detached a considerable body from Agra, under ³Motushum Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar Bukht was fond of enterprize, jealous of his honour, and of high mind tempered with prudence. A rivalry for glory had always subsisted between him and his father, Azim Shaw, who was of rash courage, and never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the ⁴whisker-twisting vaunters

¹ A river in the province of Agra.

² One of the most celebrated fortresses of Hindostan, an elegant plate of which, with the account of its capture by a detachment under colonel Popham, in 1780, has been given to the public by major Rennell; but another, on a larger scale, with a more minute description of the place, is now preparing by the ingenious Mr. W. Hodges, well known for his drawings under Captain Cook, and for his views of places in India, taken by himself on the spot.

³ Dignified.

⁴ The twist of the whiskers in India, and the outrageous cock of the hat in England, are alike characteristic.

of Hindostan, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice, and dread of the enemy. On this account, Bedar Buhkt resolved to cross the Chumbul immediately, and attack the posts of Motushum Khan; but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zoofeccar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct; upon which a strange contention took place, which is worthy of relation.

A number of low-minded persons, vain and imprudent, such as are too frequently the favorites of princes, who thought themselves capable antagonists for the nobility of Azeem Oshawn, regarding this as a fit opportunity to shew their loyalty and attachment, interfered in the conduct of affairs. As Zoofeccar Khan, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this occasion to persuade the prince that he corresponded with Shaw Aulum, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. God only knows the heart, and perhaps it might have been so; but, in the eye of understanding, good policy alone seemed to influence his conduct in this affair.

When he was informed that the prince had resolved on crossing the river the next morning, he repeatedly represented, through the proper officers, that such a step was by no means adviseable at the present crisis, but the prince refused to take his opinion. Upon this, Zoofeccar Khan went himself to his highness's tents, and requested an audience, setting forth, that he had affairs of importance to communicate; but the prince would not admit him, and sent word, that, nightly council was unlucky, therefore he must wait till the morning. I had heard of Zoofeccar Khan's advice during the day, and of the prince's dissent, but knew not what had passed at night; for I made it a rule never to go to his councils, unless

unless called upon ; and his highness had never failed, till now, to send for me. It happened, that I had been this day to visit Zoolfeccar Khan, at his earnest request, but not a word on the affair in debate passed between us. Some envious persons, however, took this occasion to persuade the prince, that I was a partner with the general ; and, notwithstanding his conviction of my fidelity, his highness, in his present humour, believed them. Hence it is, that the ancients observed, “ We should never rely on the favour of
“ princes ; for when their minds are disgusted, though without
“ cause, a thousand years of confidence may be destroyed in one
“ instant of suspicion.”

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer, the march of battle was sounded, and the prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of action. I was at my devotions, when I heard the drums ; but dressing myself in haste and astonishment, I speeded to attend him. He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up. I found him, with an angry countenance, and contemptuous exclamation, uttering reproachful terms of Zoolfeccar Khan, as deceiver, traitor, false wretch, and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant ; but, on perceiving me, he became silent, and looked more displeased. According to custom, I alighted from my horse to make my obeisance, of which he took no notice, nor spoke, nor smiled upon me as he was wont to do, but turned his head another way. Though much hurt at this slight, I took my station as usual on his right hand, close to the ear of his elephant, and ruminated on the change in his behaviour, while my enemies, who during the night had formed this talism, were rejoicing all around at my distress. Though his highness did not speak to them after my

arrival, yet I judged, by their exulting, and winking to one another, that somewhat highly pleasing to them had happened.

Just then, Zoofeccar Khan sent an officer to request I would attend him; for he hoped that, at my desire, the prince would alter his intention of passing the river. I informed his highness of the officer's coming, for I never visited any of the nobility without permission. Upon this, he angrily exclaimed, "Go! Your quiver also hangs at his belt!" I then desired the officer to return, and tell what he had heard, as I could not go; but the prince, with a furious aspect, cried out, "Be gone! Why don't you go to your friend?" At beholding this, a giddiness seized my brain, and I became distracted; for I never expected such words from him, whose favour I thought sincere, and prided myself on deserving, by my fidelity. I became raging, rash, and impetuous, and said, "What business can I, the humblest of the humble, have with nobles of Zoofeccar's exalted rank? He was the first general of your grandfather; but your father has now detached him under your command, and certainly the power is at present in your hands, to treat him as you please." His highness, upon this, more angrily than ever, exclaimed, "Surely the emperor hath not made you my tutor!" What shall I say? Heaven and earth seemed to fall at once upon my shoulders, and I wished to die that instant; but these words involuntarily slipped from my tongue: "What is my ability, to become tutor to a prince like your highness? Yet, should the trust be offered me, I would rather fly from society with a shorn head, than accept it." To this he made no reply, and I quitted his person without ceremony.

* An idiomatical expression, signifying that he was attached to his party.

I had not gone far, when the generous, forbearing, patient and benevolent prince, cherisher of his friends, sent to me the 'daroga of his khowaus, to say, as from himself, "What troublesome dreams hath my friend seen, to disorder his imagination, and make him rave? Know you not, that spies have prejudiced my father against you, as my adviser? Therefore, as much contention passed last night, between me and Zoolfeccar Khan, and I have just now insulted that deceitful traitor, I spoke angrily to you also, to remove suspicion of my treatment of him proceeding from your counsel, not supposing you could misapprehend me." Upon this, I stopped till the prince came up, when he called me to him, and smiling, whispered in my ear, "I have beheld your deep penetration." I replied, "I did not expect such expressions from your highness." He answered, "I also wished to try your patience, my friend, who pretend to so much prudence, with such heat and passion." Having said this, he took from his neck a large cornelian of * Yemmun, on which were engraved some prayers in a beautiful character, and giving it to me, said aloud, "Admire this graving!" at the same time nodding that I should keep it; but I returned it, signifying privately, that the gift was improper before so many envious witnesses. At length, my late exulting and mean-spirited enemies, seeing me again in favour, retired to a distance, and left me to converse with his highness; who then said, "Surely you must have forgotten what my father wrote to me, concerning you, three days since, and my answer to his majesty!" That affair I will relate.

The prince had three days before received a firmaun under his father's own hand, and I went with him to meet it, agreeable to custom. About midnight, he sent for me again, and carried me

* Overseer of domestic attendants.

^ Arabia Felix.

into the sleeping apartment of his 'mahal, where he had been sitting with the mother of 'Bedai Dil, who retired as I came in, to another chamber. He gave me the firmaun, and desired me to read it. In it was written, in Azim Shaw's own hand, the following sentence: " You are day and night consulting with Eradut Khan ; " I wish to know for what purpose ! " When I had returned the paper, his highness asked what was fit to write in answer.

I replied, " I am your servant. Dismiss me for the present, " and when my duty is requisite, I will instantly return." He exclaimed, " You must not leave me ; but some answer must be " written. " I will attempt one ; but you must also compose " another, and we will send that we both approve." He then gave me pen, ink and paper, from his standish, and seated me at a lamp. He wrote, and I wrote. When we had finished, it appeared, on comparison, that we had both written the same, almost without the difference of a word, as follows :

" It must be remembered in the sacred mind, that your majesty, " in passing through Malwa to the presence of the 'Shadow of " God, said to your slave, *Eradut Khan is our household servant,* " *truly loyal, wise and experienced. I give him to you, that, when* " *important affairs shall come in agitation, you may consult with him.* " Health to your majesty ! What crisis of affairs can be more im- " portant than the present ? According to the orders founded in " benevolence, I do consult with him daily, on all affairs public " and private. I know not what suspicions those admitted to the " presence may have formed of this faithful servant, but, were " they communicated to me, I could remove them to the satisfac- " tion of your majesty."

* The ladies apartments.
emperor Aulumgeer.

* His son ; Anglicè, Vigilant mind.

* The
The

M O G U L E M P I R E.

The prince applauded me much, and said, “with this able judgement and the similarity of our dispositions, how can I avoid giving you my esteem?” But to be sincere in this affair, justice was on the side of Azim Shaw; for Bedar Bukht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of Azim Shaw, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son.

Being alone with him one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast, said, “If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?”

I replied, “Such a question is unnecessary. The behaviour of your grandfather to his father is a sufficient precedent; and sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in other men.”

Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me, how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, “An opportunity will offer thus: When he has gained the victory over Shaw Aulum, you will be the first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded; and, as the tents will not be ready, your father will be only under a ² shaumianeh, surrounded by a few ³ kanauts.

¹ Alluding to Aulumgeer's dethronement of Shaw Jehaun:

² A canopy of cotton cloth.

³ Walls of cotton cloth, which are always pitched round the tents of all who can afford them. The principal chiefs have them, enclosing ground of a great extent round theirs. They have a very splendid appearance. Bernier gives a good description of a Mogul camp, to which the curious may refer.

MEMOIRS OF THE

"You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice in the action by their gallant conduct; and, at such a time, they will be allowed their arms. It is probable your father will not have many persons with him between the kanauts. Then is your time." The prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have spoken well! Dare you, at such a time, strike the blow?"

I replied, that though the act was easy, yet a sacred oath rested upon our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, "Your other opportunity will be thus: should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing. You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of Dekkan. You will have then a powerful army at your disposal. As your father's behaviour is disgustful to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions. Use open force, and try for whom God will decide."

Bedar Bukht, having crossed the Chumbul at an unobserved ford, the troops of Azeem Ooshaun, who were stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery in the various posts, and fled to Agia, happy to save their lives. Zoolfeccar, who had advised the prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. This submission pleasing his highness, he resolved on the morrow to honour him with a visit,

in order to atone for his late behaviour. Zoolfeccar Khan, hearing of his intention, sent a message to me, desiring that I would persuade him to lay it aside, as his highness's visit would occasion various reports, and the cause be inserted in the intelligence of the spies, with remarks that would injure the prince and himself in the opinion of Azim Shaw.

I was preparing to execute the commission; but before I could leave my tent, Zoolfeccar Khan passed by, having resolved to go himself to the prince. Begging pardon for his boldness, he presented a garland of flowers to his highness, who, softened with his humility, shewed him more favour than was consistent with his own dignity. It was a rule of Aulungeer's, never to shew such condescension to the nobility, as to make them think themselves too necessary to him, but he conducted himself so as to be held in respectful veneration by those even nearest his person. Certain it is, that too much humility in a sovereign loses him the object for which it is assumed. The prince, having honoured him with the robe he had on, and a rich firpeach of jewels, dismissed him with numerous professions of kindness.

Zoolfeccar Khan the same evening made another visit, when I only was sitting with the prince, and thus began to offer his advice: "Since your highness has crossed the river, as the prince Azeem Ooshaun is near, it is proper to march towards him immediately, lest your father should conceive evil suspicions, or the army

* Garlands made of the chumbeely, a sort of double jasmine, are always introduced with the betel at entertainments, and presented to the guests; also tassels of the same for the turban, and sometimes leaves of gold and silver foils, are interwoven with the flowers.

^ The firpeach is a jewel for the turban. A kulgee, or egret, is generally worn with it.

"suppose that you fear to 'engage' him." The prince did not answer him, but nodding to me, said, "Have you heard what he observed?" I replied, "Yes; and he is an experienced general and faithful servant; yet there are some points to be considered. Though engaging Azeem Ooshaun is no hazardous enterprize, yet he is also a prince; and if, now your highness has crossed the river to meet him, he does not march this way, the reproach of delay will rest on him. Let us consider also who is nearest to us, Azim Shaw, or Shaw Aulum. If the former, let us march: yet Azeem Ooshaun, if defeated, has the city of Agra for a refuge, to reduce which must require some days. His father may also arrive with his vast army, said to be an hundred thousand horse, and he has already with him thirty thousand. If Zoolfeccar Khan judges he can, without the aid of your father, engage these two armies, and a prince of Shaw Aulum's experience and valour, what can we dread? Let us march." Zoolfeccar Khan, in reply to this, only said, as was his manner when pleased, "Good! good! good! He hath spoken well."

Some days after this, Azim Shaw approaching near, Bedar Bukht moved a coss in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father's tents; and the morning of his arrival, went two coss from the camp to meet him. Azim Shaw loved him as a son, though, from the attention shewn him by Aulumgeer, he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him, after long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely khelaut, with the 'chaukub, a sword set with jewels, elephants and horses. The prince, after the interview, asked me if I would not pay my respects to his father: to which I replied, that I did

* An upper robe, never conferred but on princes of the royal family, the vizier of the empire, and Ameer al Amra.

not wish it, having no desire to engage his notice, or embrace his service; but, upon his observing that my declining it would occasion much suspicion, I consented, and was introduced. Azim Shaw, upon seeing me, said, "Are you also come?" I replied, "Yes, but without orders. I left my station, though far distant from the route of your majesty. Who else has done so?" He conferred the usual khelaut upon me, and gave orders for my being employed.

Empire having been decreed to Shaw Aulum, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shaw, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of ¹ Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field. Hence, those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth; as was formerly the case with the emperor ² Humaioon, during the rebellion of the Afghian Shere Shaw. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.

At length Shaw Aulum having reached ³ Muttra, sent by a celebrated dirvesh the following message to Azim Shaw. "By the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent

¹ Vast armies, mentioned in the Kōraun.

² Father of Akber. See his reign in Dow's History.

³ A city about eighteen coss N. of Agra, much venerated by the Hindoos, it being the birth-place of their god Kishen. There were formerly very rich temples in it; but one, more celebrated than the rest, and erected by Ber Sing, deo raja of Oorcha, cost thirty-six lacks of rupees. It was razed by Aulungeer, who built a mosque on the site with the materials. Muttra, however, has still many temples, which are visited by pilgrims from all parts of India.

“ to shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the
“ empire between us. Though I am the elder, I will leave the
“ choice in your power.” Azim Shaw, vain-glorious and haughty,
replied, that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the
field, and upon this, the messenger departed. Azim Shaw marched
the next morning, and encamped between Iajoo and Agra, on a
barren plain void of water, so that the army was much distressed.
Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shaw Aulum¹ was
encamped seven cofs distant, and intended moving on the morrow,
but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned, that my design is not to write the
history of kings, but of myself, and what I have seen. Accord-
ingly, of the battle between the brothers, I shall only relate such
circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

^{the} ^{Ru-} ^{ul,} ^{19.} ^{27.} The morning dawned; but what a dawn! Daring fire, and
tinged with blood; of whose horrors the last day can only prove an
imitation. *Call it not morning, it was the day of judgment!*
Call it not dawn; it was the evening of death! Call it not day,
but the gloomy eve of the woes of time!

Mahummud Bedar Bukht, who commanded the advanced corps
of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march.
He was mounted upon his favorite elephant; and his most valued
attendants were near his person. Zoofeccar Khan with the two
Raujipoet chiefs, Ram Sing and Dulput Roy, also Amaun Oollah
Khan, followed them, inclined somewhat to the left of the prince.
The main body of the army marched next, in the center of which
rode Azim Shaw, surrounded by his courtiers and a numerous
band of Mogul, Afghan and Hindostanee² munsubdaurs, of

¹ Anglicè, Holding rank. Persons of family, but without titles of nobility.

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approved valour. We had not as yet learned the position of the enemy, or what was the design of Shaw Aulum.

Mahummud Bedar Bukht had reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water; and some wells were also round about it. The troops at this time were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he chose. Seeing which, I represented to the prince, that the main body was far behind; that the country in his front was destitute of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers; Zoolfeccar Khan obliques so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs equally distant in every quarter. I observed, that, if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops, the artillery would come up, the emperor have time to join, and order be restored in the line; also that, should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just. Go, and inform my father I shall follow it."

It happened also, that Shaw Aulum had no advice of the route of our army; and, as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning dispatched his main body under ¹ Monauim Khan, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the Jumna. His ² peeshkhaneh, with the usual escort under ³ Roostum-dil Khan, was coming on in front of the army, in the same route as our line.

¹ Anglicè, Fortunate. He was chief minister to Shaw Aulum.

² Anglicè, Advanced house. The Hindostanee chiefs have always two sets of tents, &c. one of which is always dispatched, in front of the army, to the next ground of encampment, and pitched for their reception.

³ Anglicè, Of heart like Roostum, the celebrated champion of Firdosi's Shaw-nammeh, or History of Persian Kings.

a coss and a half farther in the rear, and his troops become separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post; for the train of artillery had been left in Dekkan, and the standard elephants were out of their stations, so that there was nothing to mark the emperor from a distance. When Terbeut Khan was removed from the command of the artillery, and his successor applied for orders concerning it to Azim Shaw, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but bruise his head with a staff."

At length I perceived the imperial umbrella, and hastened towards it. Some of the courtiers, who always first received intelligence, that they might accommodate it to the humour of their master, demanded my business; but, not listening to such weak flatterers, I rode on. When Azim Shaw saw me, he made a signal for me to advance; but, such was the crowd, I had scarce ability to push through it. At length, having come near to his travelling throne, I alighted from my horse, and said, "The prince informs your majesty of the enemy's near approach." What shall I say? Azim Shaw, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner whirling a crooked

* Alluding to the bullocks used for the draft of the artillery, universal in Hindostan.
 * The umbrella is one of the imperial ensigns, and, when the etiquette of the court was kept up, no subject dared to carry one.

* A seat, or rather small couch, fixed on three poles, like the nallekee described in a former note

* A short crooked staff, about three feet in length, not unlike a crosier, used by fakerees to lean on when they sit, and often by persons of rank as an emblem of humility, and having declared themselves disciples to some holy man.

staff, stood upright in his throne, and tauntingly said, "Be not
 "alarmed! I am coming up to my son." Hurt at this insult to
 the spirit of my prince, I said, "His highness is son to yourself,
 "asylum of a world, and knoweth not fear. He only represents
 "the enemy's approach, that your majesty may advance with the
 "troops, and take the post usual for the emperor in the day of
 "battle."

Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bukht; but such
 crowds surrounded me to ask for news, that I could not disengage
 myself till within a rocket's flight of the prince. Just as I had
 reached him, the enemy began to cannonade, and a ball struck the
 breast of an attendant close to his person.

As I had not been undressed for the last two nights, and was
 exceedingly fatigued with hard riding, the sun and wind being
 burning hot, my strength now failed me, and I fainted away. My
 brother, seeing this, lifted me from my horse, laid me on the
 ground, and loosened my armour, but could get no water to revive
 me. The prince, observing my distress, generously sent me a small
 vessel from his elephant, which gave me new life. I untied the
 folds of my vest, and poured some of the water on my breast, but
 was still too faint to rise. By this time, Azim Shaw was come up;
 but, contrary to the custom of the emperors, whose station is the
 rear of the center, pushed on towards Bedar Bukht, and his
 attendants crowded after him without order. Ameer Khan passing
 by, and seeing me on the ground, offered me a seat with him on
 his elephant, as did others of my friends; but I refused them all.
 At length my own elephant arriving, I mounted, and lay with my
 breast bare upon three skins of water, which luckily for me were
 in the seat, to prevent my fainting a second time. The train ele-
 phants of Azim Shaw, those of his women, of the treasury, and

the jewel office, now pushed between me and Bedar Bukht, so that I was removed some distance from him.

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a rocket's flight of our line. One of these was headed by the prince Azeem Ooshaun, the other by Monauim Khan, with whom were also the princes Moiz ad Dien Jechaundar Shaw and Jechaun Shaw. Our line was so pressed upon on each flank, and in the rear, by baggage elephants, cattle and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops, and render them useless. Shaw Aulum's artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution; and his sons advancing, fired showers of musquetry, which fell like hail. A line of rockets extending in front of our army, was repeatedly discharged with great effect. The sun, obscured by dust and smoke, was in the meridian, and the heat excessive. At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. This being told me by my brother, who supported me on the elephant, I raised myself as much as I could, adjusted my armour, and observed the motions. I saw Khan Aulum move towards the enemy with great rapidity, upon which I waved my handkerchief as a signal for the prince Bedar Bukht to follow, which he did, so that I shortly could see only the top of his tammaury. As to myself, I could not move, being wedged in by the crowd of elephants around me.

The rocket in India is used in war, and the chamber being made of iron, does execution wherever it strikes; but cannot be sent in true direction. It will reach from three to four hundred yards.

* Anglicè, Respector of the faith, king possessing the world; eldest son of Shaw Aulum.

* King of the world; youngest son of Shaw Aulum.

* A canopied seat for an elephant. An open one is called howzah, or howdah.

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As Khan Aulum advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above three hundred stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of Azeem Ooshaun, and hurled his spear at the prince, but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant; when the prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan Aulum, and he died on the instant. His brother, Munnower Khan, was also wounded. Their followers fell back in the utmost confusion, and fled, as did the greatest part of our right wing, leaving the prince Wallajah in a manner alone; but, notwithstanding this desertion, he heroically kept his post. Amaun Oollah Khan, seeing his danger, hastened to support him, when unluckily a rocket lighting in the pad supporting his seat on the elephant, it took fire, and burnt so furiously as to pain the animal, who turned back. The khan, half burnt, fell to the ground; and his troops, thinking he was killed, fled in disorder. The prince Wallajah, upon this, retreated for shelter towards Bedar Bukht.

A body of the enemy, under Bauz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zoolfeccar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but, by the decrees of Providence, Ram Sing, Harra, and Dulput Raow Bonedelah, on whose valour and conduct Zoolfeccar Khan most depended, were both killed at the same instant by a cannon shot; upon which their rajepoots lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zoolfeccar Khan, however, yet remained firm with his own followers; but, upon being charged by the whole of Azeem Ooshaun's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Syed Muzuffir, and retired to the rear of Azim Shaw's post with Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and, having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horse-

back to Gualiar, where he was received by his father, 'Assud Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of Azim Shaw now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to wait the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. Syed Abdoolla, and his brother Houssiem Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barieh, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their fires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and great slaughter on both sides. Houssiem Ali Khan received several wounds, and fell down faint with the loss of blood. Amaun Oolla Khan was killed. Terbeut Khan, Muttullub Khan, and Khoodabundeh Khan, having expended all their arrows, used their sabres; but the former was soon killed by a musquet ball, and the two latter fell down faint with many wounds. Suffawee Khan, of the royal house of Persia, Meerza Abdoolla, and a numerous band of great officers of Azim Shaw, were slain, after each had shewn the valour of Roostum in his defence. At last a musquet ball, and several arrows, struck the prince Bedar Bukht, and he sunk down dead upon his elephant. I saw him fall, and in the agony of grief exclaimed, "Hadst thou not, O God, created ambition of crowns and thrones, the head of my prince had not been thus humbled in dust and blood!"

Azim Shaw, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shaw Aulum. From this now issued Monauim Khan with a select band, the princes Azeem Ooshaun, Moiz ad dien Jechaundar Shaw, and Jechaun Shaw. Azim Shaw soon received a mortal wound from a

• Anglicè, Lion, signifying like one in valour.

musquet ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The prince Wallajah also sunk down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape towards Agra, not chusing to go to the enemy's camp, though I had many friends, who would have given me protection.

Roostum dil Khan, who, as already mentioned, commanded the escort of Shaw Aulum's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to Azim Shaw, and had continued near his elephant during the battle, till his death, with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse, and hastened to the camp of Shaw Aulum. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the prince's feet; but the compassionate Shaw Aulum, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave him nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten.

Monauim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate princes, and treated the ladies of their harems with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. He could not dismount from his elephant without help and was obliged, no pallekee being at hand, to be carried in a cloth to the presence of Shaw Aulum. His eldest son, Nyceem Khan, also was dangerously wounded by a ball in the neck, and was recovered with difficulty. Shaw Aulum passed the night under a shau-mianeh on the field of battle, and the next day, having attained the important object of empire, with his mind freed from the

dread of a rival, moved in triumph to the gardens of Dhara, round which his army encamped.

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Shaw Aulum; his march from Cabul, and other proceedings, to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother Azim Shaw.

Some time before his death, Aulumgeer had appointed Monauim Khan to be ^{*}dewan to Shaw Aulum, who then held the government of Cabul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon arranged the prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. Dissolute and oppressive, they, from self-interested motives, interfered with the duties of a dewan, and prevented him from doing justice. A superfluous soldiery was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and, being consequently ill paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. At the same time the household of the prince was distressed. Monauim Khan, respected from the esteem in which he was held by the emperor, and his already established character of great ability, soon gained the perfect confidence of Shaw Aulum. He diminished the prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. When he had thus reformed affairs at Cabul, he left his son as his deputy there, and removed to Lahore, the collections of which province were full of abuses. He had resolved to amend them, and succeeded, so as to render the majority of all ranks pleased with his administration. When he heard of Aulumgeer's illness, in order

* About three coss, or six miles, from Agra.

* Manager of the revenues.

to prevent cabals in favour of Azim Shaw, he circulated a report that Shaw Aulum would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by a flight to Persia. Shaw Aulum had himself, indeed, made this declaration long before; and with such apparent resolution, that it was believed, and dreaded even by his sons, who resided with him. Monauim Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote, in these words :

“ When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities, had properly impressed Shaw Aulum’s mind, and that he was convinced I was a prudent, faithful and secret servant, being alone one day with him, conversing on the affairs of the empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him : *It is reported that your highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even the princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.* He replied, *In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to forward which, I have spread it abroad, and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement ; and, should he even now think I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother, Mabummud Azim Shaw, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report, my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security ; but, by the Almighty God who gave me life, laying his hand on the Koraun by him, and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azim Shaw in single combat, wherever he may be. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it !”*

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To proceed. When the news of Aulumgeer's death reached Monauim Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shaw Aulum, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, as he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery, with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Shaw Aulum, by long marches of ten and twelve cōs each day, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and Monauim Khan entered that city with a select party. The officers of Azim Shaw were alarmed, and either fled, or concealed themselves in disguises. Mahummud Ear Khan, the kelladar of the palace, a cautious person, and ever looking into futurity, though he knew most of the great ameers had embraced the cause of Azim Shaw, yet was so awed with the vizier's gallantry, and the arrival of Shaw Aulum, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindostan, collected from the reign of Akber to the present times. Thus was Shaw Aulum, by the activity and resolution of his servant, made master of funds to support (if he chose) all the troops to be levied in the empire. The army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid. Monauim Khan advanced with some chosen troops before the prince to Agra, and though Bedar Bukht was at the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived at Gualiar, he was not alarmed, but encamped immediately before the citadel. Bankee Khan, an old imperial ser-

* Anglicè, Friend of Mahummud.

* Anglicè, Constant.

vant, and governor of the fortress, which he had refused to resign to Azeem Ooshawn, being certified that Shaw Aulum was approaching, did not chuse to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Monauim Khan would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command. He accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. As he had made a forced march from Muttra, of twenty coss, he now lay down to take a few hours rest, till all his followers arrived. After this refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit Azeem Ooshawn, who was encamped at the distance of six coss, to whom he offered much friendly advice for his conduct to his father, who was jealous of his loyalty. When the news of the surrender of the citadel of Agra reached Bedar Bukht at Dholepore, his spirit was broken, and the crimson of his hopes faded into pale despair. I was with him at the time, and perceived that he regarded every thing as lost. He immediately sent an account of the event to his father, who had not yet heard of Shaw Aulum's arrival at Muttra, as his weak servants, fearful of his displeasure, and the usual gross abuse, dared not to inform him. At length Shaw Aulum made the proposal of a division of the empire, which was refused, and two days afterwards the conflict ensued, as above-mentioned.

Without doubt, Shaw Aulum's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister; yet he never set forth himself as having done any extraordinary service, but would often say to his majesty, that empire was the particular gift of God, and that no obligation could be

* A town on the bank of the Chumbul, in the province of Agra.

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laid on sovereigns; so that, if any one thought himself conducive to their success, it was, in them, vanity and folly. To me, from whom he kept not his inmost thoughts, he would say, “Kings, through the blaze of splendor, cannot see impartially; therefore, if any person presumes upon services, and would shew that he thinks them an obligation on his master, the jealous disposition of royalty cannot bear it, and rejects the claim, as was clearly proved in the proceedings of the emperor Mahummud Akber, and ¹ Beyram Khan, his assuming minister.”

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Shaw Aulum, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private.

^{1 2} Moiz ad Dien Jhaundau Shaw, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about state affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs, for, as his sons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooshawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure,

¹ Beyram Khan, on the death of Humayoon, became regent during the minority of Akber, who, at the age of seventeen, not chusing longer to be governed by a subject, displaced him

² Anglicè, Resister of the faith.

and confiderable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great fervice, yet he was fufpected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the caufes would be ufelefs prolixity.

¹ Ruffeh Oofhawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the fame time addicted to pleafure, particularly fond of mufic, and the pomp of courtly fhew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even thofe of his own houfhould.

² Khojefteh Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greateft fhare of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's acceffion to the throne; after which, the whole adminiftration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the clofeft friendship and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his intereft, was appointed vizier.

When Shaw Aulum had repofed from the fatigues of war, he took meafures to reduce Kaum Bukfh, who had affumed the imperial titles in Dekkan. It was not fupposed that he could make much oppofition, but in the opinions of the wife and underftanding prejudged, that his behaviour would of itfelf ruin him in that country.

Monauim Khan now called together, by attention and confoling behaviour, the unfortunate nobility of Azim Shaw, who had efaped from the late battle to different places. Zoolfeccar Khan had fled to his father, ³ Affud Khan, who had the charge of Azim

¹ Anglicè, Of high rank.

² Of happy ftar; king of the world.

³ Anglicè, Lion.

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Shaw's baggage in Gualiar. The vizier had taken pains to convince his master, that the ancient nobility were the pillars of the state, and that the welfare of the empire depended on their persons, whose ancestors had held high offices, and acquired influence and respect with the people, so that it was proper and politic to employ them.

As the vizarut had been conferred on Monauim Khan, at his request, the most dignified office of ¹vakeel muttulluk was entrusted to Affud Khan, and that of ²meer bukshi to his son Zoolfeccar Khan, with the title of Ameer al Amra. The second bukshiship was conferred on Meerza ³Shawnowaz Khan Suffawee. Monauim Khan, regardless of trifles, submitted to sit below Affud Khan in the divans, and to shew him every respect as his superior in office. The government of all Dekkan was granted to the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who performed the duties by his deputy, Daood Khan Punnee, while he in person attended the court.

Monauim Khan, sincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the service of his master, never preferred the gratification of his own passions to the welfare of the state, or honour of the sovereign. He both advised and acted what was for his glory. For example, most of the améers of Aulumgeer had accompanied Azim Shaw, and fought against Shaw Aulum in the late contest, consequently were liable in justice to whatever evils or punishments he chose to inflict upon them; but Monauim Khan became their general intercessor, representing to the emperor, that they were

¹ Anglicè, Universal agent. This is an office superior to that of vizier. It is seldom filled up, but in time of great emergency; but it was lately conferred on the infant Peshwa, by his present majesty of Dhely, though it cannot be considered now but as an empty honour. It seems to have been no more to Affud Khan.

² Chief paymaster.

³ Anglicè, Favoured by the king.

excusable, having only obeyed an heir who sat upon the throne, which, as affairs were circumstanced at that time, they could not avoid; that, after they had become his friends, ¹ eaten of his salt, and made new compacts and declarations in addition to their former vows of allegiance, they could not in honour abuse his confidence by treachery or desertion. He observed, that the empire of Hindostan was a state not to be kept in order by one or two persons; that, like the magnificent pavilion of ² Soleymaun, many strong pillars and powerful cords were required to support it, and keep it on a lasting footing; that the noble families, who from generation to generation had the benefit of experience, a knowledge of the customs of the empire and rules of government, were alone suited to high employments; that most of the present nobility had also held for many years important offices, and acquired wisdom and knowledge. He said, that, if they were not still entrusted with the posts of greatest confidence, there would not remain a possibility of supporting the rules of the empire, or obtaining able statesmen or good generals. He advised his majesty to reward amply those persons who had joined his standard from every quarter, and done good services, agreeable to their merits; but without exalting them beyond their abilities, observing that many of them had only been dependants on the princes and nobility, others again only servants to sojedours and governors of towns. Where then could they have acquired judgment in politics and knowledge of government, dignity of manner, or fortitude to support the power of command? He observed, that such accomplishments were inherent to noble birth and liberal education, the natural consequence of such advantage. Such was the vizier, of whose master (worthy of him) I now speak.

¹ This expression implies a very strong connection in the original idiom.

² According to Mahummedan tradition, Solomon had a very sumptuous pavilion made for him by the Genii.

Shaw Aulum was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not superior, to their merits; so that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact, that the deserving of every profession, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unequal to relate. His valour was such, that he had resolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered constantly to be near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aulumgeer. To what I represented, he wrote a wise and just reply, which, by God's permission, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the sons of those princes, who had fallen in battle against him, to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and shared in all his diversions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his sons, grandsons, and nephews,

nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following : —On his right hand, Jechaundaur Shaw, his eldest son, with his three sons, his third son Ruffeh Ooshawn with his three sons, and Bedar Dil, son to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahumud Azeem Ooshawn with his two sons, and Jechaun Shaw with his son. Ali Tibbar, the only surviving son of Azim Shaw, sat on the right hand of Azeem Ooshawn, and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Mahummud Kaum Buksh. Behind the royal princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda ; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene ? On the eeds, and other festivals, his majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself, in the

* Anglicè, Of high descent.

2 The Mahumimedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the conclusion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniversary of the day on which Abraham consented to sacrifice his son. On these days, tents are pitched about a mile distant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great state to pray, and on his return receives presents from his ameeers, on whom he confers honorary dresses according to rank. The same ceremony is observed in every town, by the governor. At the last eede, after prayers, a camel is sacrificed, and a small part of it dressed, and eaten on the spot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of these days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and served to give an idea of the astonishing splendor which must have graced these in the flourishing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the procession at Lucnow, on the first eed in 1784, as he was present, and took a sketch of it.

grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an assembly of the religious, or learned men. He himself related traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account, some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the insolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun, how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part; therefore I shall desist, and now relate, as briefly as possible, the expedition of his majesty to Dekkan, against the death-devoted Kaum Buksh.

It has been already mentioned that the late emperor, a few days before his death, dispatched Kaum Buksh to Beejapore. This prince was of an excellent memory, learned, and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached near to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but, for some misbehaviour, he was reprov'd, degraded, or confined; and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. When he arrived at Beejapore, he immediately proclaimed himself in the khootba, and struck coins in his own name. What follies

¹ Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

² The khootba is a form of prayer, in which the souls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are first prayed for, beginning with Adam, and ending with Mahumud. The souls of the reigning family's ancestors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole

follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind, and the confidence he put in lying visionaries ! These wretches had hailed each of the princes with a prophecy of succession to the throne, swearing they had conversations in their reveries with God, his prophet, and the pious saints, who had promised their assistance, so that human force was unnecessary. They assured Kaum Buksh, that he need not levy any troops for his support; for, though an enemy should march against him with all the myriads of 'Toor and Sullum, they would not dare to face his sight, much less engage in battle. Flattered by this, and impelled by madness, the weak youth regarded himself as emperor, and invincible in his single person; to prove which, he would often relate, in a raving manner, strange prognostics and divine greetings shewn to himself. His prophets having told him, that his eldest son would also one time become emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated to put him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aulumgeer: however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his haram, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw, nor ear had heard.

Notwithstanding these blots in his character, as he was a son of Aulumgeer; and that part of the empire had been given to him, at first most of the chiefs of Dekkan, whether Mussulmauns or Hin-

whole concludes with a prayer for the prosperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his subjects. It is read every Friday in the mizid jamée, or grand mosque of all towns, and on the eeds or grand festivals.

* Two great hosts, mentioned in the Koraun.

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doos, crowded to his standard, and the Imperial officers, as Syef Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and others of all ranks, joined in acknowledging him emperor. Leaving his foster-brother, Meer Mullung, a debauched youth of neither birth or merit, at Beejapore as governor, he marched himself to Hyderabad, then commanded by Roostum Dil Khan, who had succeeded his father, Jan-sippai Khan, by Aulumgeer's orders, in that government. In this province he reduced some powerful zemindars to his obedience, and displaced others.

* Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadar Firose Jung, who had acquired a most powerful influence in Dekkan, was chief of the Tooranee moguls, and kept on foot a great army, had withdrawn himself from Azim Shaw. He was also much in dread of Shaw Aulum's resentment, he having advised that prince's being confined, when Aulumgeer was before Golconda. The late emperor had strenuously endeavoured to attach the Tooranees to Kaum Buksh, and for this purpose had appointed for that prince's preceptor, Syed Oughlan Seyadut Khan, the agent at court, and bosom confidant of Ghazee ad Dien Khan, venerated also by all the Toranees of every rank. He had also charged them with the protection of his person; but such was the temper of the unhappy prince, that at a time like this, when he claimed the throne, and, favourably for his cause, Ghazee ad Dien Khan dreaded Shaw Aulum, he could not make him his friend: on the contrary, he did many acts to displease him, and excite his alarms. This chief was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kaum Buksh, and declined his cause, as ruinous and

* Anglicè, Life-resigning.

* Anglicè, Champion of the faith; valiant and fortunate in war.

lost. In a short time too, the chief zemindars of Dekkan, who had in general joined his standard, displeased at his conduct and heedless shedding of human blood, his inconstancy of mind and breach of treaties, left him, and retired to their own countries, where they took care to secure themselves, till the disputes for the throne should be decided.

Thus, though the pretensions of Kaum Buksh were of no great importance, yet he was a son of Aulumgeer, and claimed a right to the empire. The behaviour of Ghazee ad Dien Khan also demanded consideration. Ajeet Sing, hereditary zemindar of Jodepore, and Jey Sing, of Ambcer, did not shew that obedience and respect to the throne which had been observed by their ancestors, and meditated rebellion. All these circumstances made his majesty resolve on marching to Dekkan. The ² khan khanan opened a correspondence with Ghazee ad Dien Khan, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if his majesty would forget the past, and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission, and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, ³ Cheen Koolich Khan, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, ⁴ Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him, and gone over to the presence. The Tooran chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events

¹ Son of the celebrated Jesswant Sing, who acted so capital a part in the competitions of Aulumgeer and his brothers.

² Lord of Lords. Monauim Khan is meant by this title, which he received from Shaw Aulum.

³ Anglicè, Sword-drawing lord: He was afterwards famous as Nizam al Mulluck.

⁴ Anglicè, Assisting.

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made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister, and thankfully accept the soubadacy of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeet since his loss of sight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former services, and from motives of policy, had excused.

Shaw Aulum began his march to Dekkan with an army superior to that of any of the former emperors, and a splendor till now unseen, having in his train all the princes, and a great concourse of nobility of every rank. The prudent and able Monauim Khan took such measures for the supplies of this mighty force, excëeding Aulumgeet's by an hundred thousand men, that the emperor had no trouble or difficulty, though only in the beginning of his reign, when the revenues of the provinces had not yet been received, nor respect for the throne been properly impressed in different quarters. When his majesty had arrived at Aurungabad, before he would advance towards Hyderabad, where the frantic Kaum Buksh then was, he wrote him several kind letters and friendly admonitions, to this effect:—"Our ever-honoured father resigned to you only BEEJAPORE; but, we give you, in addition, Hyderabad. These two extensive countries, long famous for their great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindostan, we leave to you, without interference or reluctance, and shall esteem you dearer than our own children. Think not then of contention, nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful, nor disturb the repose of our government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this advice, we will farther confer upon you the nizamat of Dekkan, if agreeable to you; and, after visiting the sacred tomb of our father, we will return to Hindostan."

There was no treachery or deceit in this generous offer, for Shaw Aulum always shewed tenderness, liberality and affection, in his conduct to his brothers. Kaum Buksh, weak and self-conceited as a child, bent on error, paid not the smallest attention to his brother, and continued to add fresh affronts to his authority. Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan of the Imperial servants, and others of no family or note, on whom he had bestowed titles of nobility, with about twenty thousand horse and foot, were now with him, but, disgusted at his behaviour, meditated opportunities to quit him. Monauim Khan, with his usual prudence, had sent them letters, assuring them of the emperor's forgiveness and favour; so that all, even to Meer Mullung, Kaum Buksh's foster-brother, had resolved to come over, and embrace his protection; but the prince, suspecting their intentions, put to death Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan, and Meer Mullung, and plundered their families of all they possessed, on the same day, and in the same place. He had after this no officer of consequence with him; and his treasure being expended, all his troops deserted, except about ten thousand of the worst Dekkan horse, and his small artillery; yet he still resolved to hazard a battle. When Shaw Aulum arrived within twelve coss of Hyderabad, the unfortunate Kaum Buksh lost daily his followers in crowds, and most of the zemindars of Dekkan retired to their homes; while the remainder mutinied for arrears, and hourly threatened to plunder his effects. Will it be believed, that he yet determined to resist, and expected victory? He even quitted the asylum of the city walls, and encamped upon a plain about the distance of three coss, with his small force; within sight of the emperor's army; so great was his enthusiastic belief in the prophecies of his deceiving, and perhaps self-deceived, devotees.

Shaw Aulum, from compassion to his brother, and the hope of yet reducing him by gentle means, would not permit his troops to
 attack;

120.
708. attack ; but Kaum Bukh interpreted the inactivity of the Imperial army into fear, from his belief that the prophecies in his favour were now on the point of accomplishment ; for he had been assured by visionaries, that, though alone, mighty hosts would never prevail against him. Accordingly, though deserted by almost all his followers, he yet obstinately refused to pay allegiance to his brother. At length the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who had a keen enmity against the misguided prince, and wished to shew his zeal for his new patron, resolved to seize him. He accordingly obtained leave to march, under the pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, and moved towards him with his own followers, a division from the troops of Monauim Khan, and a body of Mharattas under the chief Neema Sindia. The unfortunate prince prepared to withstand such superior force ; but, being charged at once on all sides, was instantly deserted by all his followers, except a few personal attendants. Notwithstanding this, he continued, as long as he had strength, to use his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he sunk down on his seat, through loss of blood from several wounds. He was then taken prisoner by Daood Khan, and carried to the prince Jehaun Shaw, who, with his brothers, had stood at some distance during this extraordinary skirmish.

The captive prince was conveyed immediately to the Imperial tents, and being laid upon a bed in the tushbeh khaneh, near the private apartments, was visited by his brother, the emperor, who endeavoured to comfort him by every expression of affectionate concern. The physicians and surgeons also attended, but he would not allow his wounds to be dressed, though earnestly entreated by his majesty and his sons. He spoke but little ; but when the prince Ruffeh Ooshawn tenderly asked, why he had refused offers of

favour, he replied, " His majesty was very gracious; but how
 " could I submit to meet him in any other way than this?"
 Upon Jehaun Shaw's repeating the question, he exclaimed, " I have
 " done wrong; do not you follow my example!" One of the
 princes asking him if he had more than a thousand followers when
 taken, he angrily answered, " No; but had there been less than
 " five hundred, I could with equal ease have brought myself here."
 He then turned to the emperor, and said, " There are, in a casket
 " upon my elephant, some jewels of our father and my own, of
 " which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this he grew
 faint, and languished in silence, without uttering a single groan,
 till nine at night, when he resigned his soul to the Creator of life.
 " We are from God, and to God we must return.

When Shaw Aulum had thus successfully concluded the war
 with his brother, he did not chuse to remain longer in Dekkan,
 though the affairs of that country required much arrangement, to
 insure its future dependance on the empire. Perhaps he dreaded
 the fate of his father, who, after the reduction of Beejapore, Hy-
 derabad, and the taking of Sambah, remained to finish some objects
 which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in
 such a chain, that he could not quit Dekkan for the remainder of
 his life. He had often lamented this necessity, and the relaxation
 which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan;
 and would frequently say to his confidants in private, " My disloyal
 " subjects have imposed upon me this play-thing, that they may
 " enjoy commands and honours." But I am wandering from my
 subject. Shaw Aulum, in the height of the rains, began his march
 from Hyderabad, leaving as deputy-governor of Dekkan, Daood
 Khan Punnee, a native of the country, and a nobleman of great
 military fame. When he recrossed the Nerbudda, it was intended
 to employ all the powers of government to settle, in a proper
 I manner,

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manner, the Rajapoote countries, which had been disaffected ever since the accession of Aulumgeer; who, though offended at the behaviour of the rajas, Ajeet Sing and Jey Sing, over whose territories he had appointed Imperial governors, yet was not able, from the wars in Dekkan, to punish them effectually. They had indeed visited Shaw Aulum, but had left his camp without permission, and now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other; to bind which, Jey Sing had espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing. At this crisis, intelligence arrived that the Sikhs had risen in rebellion. This sect of infidels, known also by the names of Nannukkea and Gooroh, had long been established in the soubah of Lahore, by a teacher styled Nannuk. Of his descendants was the present chief, to whom had flocked great crowds of all ranks, resigning to his disposal, with blind fidelity, their lives and properties. Thus supported, he excited sedition, and took arms to extend his errors, and overturn the basis of the true faith. He engaged Vizier Khan, the sojedaur of Sirhind, who was killed in the action, with numbers of his followers; after which the gooroh possessed himself of the town of Sirhind, and many districts of Doaub, as far as Boreah, Saarunpore, and Shawdourah, on both banks of the river Jumnah, where he committed unlimited excesses, razing all public edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums, and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity. The oppressions of these wretches were every day increasing, and there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Dhely against them. Afoph ad Dowlah Asfud Khan, who governed that capital, shewing

* They now possess the provinces of Lahore, Multan, and part of Dhely, plundering as far south annually as Rohilcund.

* A considerable town, about fifty coss N. of Dhely.

* These districts are now held by Zabtah Khan, a Rohilla chief, who however pays a tribute to the Sikhs, and it is said has entered into their sect.

great signs of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly, with their families and effects, towards the eastern provinces, for shelter from the impending storm. All this being represented to the emperor, in the highest colours, his majesty thought it best to march in person against the insurgents : for this reason, he resolved for the present to lay aside the design of totally expelling the rajapootes, and to confirm their allegiance, by winking at their offences, till a more convenient opportunity of punishment. These zemindars had, for generations, been used to obey, and had not, in fact, either fortitude or ability to oppose openly the emperor of Hindostan, whose appearance against them in arms would have been sufficient to curb their insolence ; but the khankhanan, alarmed at the insurrection of the Siks, did not properly reflect on that circumstance, and descended to shew the rajapootes such favours as were inconsistent with good policy, as well as the dignity of the sovereign : but he was not alone to blame, as there were other agents in this business. The four princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the khankhanan thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such 'great seas ; and could not act so independently for the public good as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own. Among the remarkable occurrences of the expedition into Dekkan, was the decline of Jehaun Shaw's influence with his father, and the rise of that of Azeem Oolshawn, of whom till now the emperor had ever been suspicious. The prince Jehaun Shaw was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the khankhanan, who, for his own safety, watched

* Meaning the power and influence of the four princes.

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an opportunity to destroy his influence in public affairs: a task of no great difficulty, to one well acquainted with the disposition of Shaw Aulum, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour, so that he had expressed to him his dissatisfaction. The prince, upon this, thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence, by neglecting to frequent the durbai, and engage in business as usual. Azeem Ooshawn, who had reaped experience in office, and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolness taking place between Jehaun Shaw and the khankhanan, paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jehaun Shaw, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indisposition continuing a long time, gave Azeem Ooshawn ample opportunity of acquiring influence over Shaw Aulum, and the favourites whom his majesty trusted with the fullest confidence; while he continued to be pleased with them, but, on the smallest disgust, or in their shortest absence, he forgot them altogether.

Azeem Ooshawn having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour of government against those who laboured under its displeasure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of his father should give him a claim to the empire. It was from this hope, that he advised indulgence to the refractory rajas, and condescended to repair to their camp, and conduct them from thence to his father, permitting them to be accompanied by all their troops armed. Such unusual indulgence was far from answering the end expected by the prince, who should have seen, that it could only tend to display publicly the fears of government, and consequently must

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must reflect dishonour on its adviser, and render him weak in the eyes even of those to whom such uncommon honours were allowed. In short, the two rajas, attended by all their followers, paid their respects to his majesty on the line of march, were gratified with his assent to whatever their insolence demanded, and dismissed to their homes with rich presents and assurances of favour.

When this affair was finished, the emperor marched without delay towards Lahore, not even stopping to make an entrance either at Agra or Dhely. In a short time he arrived at Sirhind, which the rebels deserted on his approach, and retired to Daber, the original residence of their goorroh or chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Though this insurrection was not of such importance as to disturb the general repose of the empire, yet his majesty, defender of the faith, hearing that the malice of the rebels was directed at religion, thought it his duty to go against them in person; in this, copying the example of Aulumgeer, who, in the latter part of his reign, appeared at the siege of every fort belonging to unbelievers; otherwise, what ability had a wretched and infatuated rabble to dare the presence of such a glorious monarch? The exertions of one of the principal ameers, or, at all events, of the princes, would have been equal to the extinction of the rebellion, and explosion of the schism.

The imperial army soon arrived within sight of the goorroh's camp, which lay round the walls of Daber on different heights, commanding the passes to that fortress, situated on a summit, surrounded by hollows, craggy rocks, and deep paths. Shaw Aulum had resolved to lie inactive before the enemy for some time, in hopes by this to render them confident, and tempt them to an

* At the entrance of the Sewalic mountains, which connect Hindostan with Thibet.

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engagement ; on which account, he issued positive orders to the princes and all the ameeers, not to advance nearer the goorroh's lines on any pretence, however favourable. Some days passed in inactivity, when at length the khankhanan entreated permission of his majesty to advance, with his own followers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position : which was granted, on condition that he should not commence an attack without further orders from the presence. However, when he had arrived within shot of their lines, the enemy began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, musquetry, and arrows. His soldiers, enraged, were not now to be restrained ; and the khankhanan, more jealous of his military fame than fearful of the emperor's displeasure, ventured for once to disobey, by giving directions to attack. He dismounted from his horse, and led his brave troops on foot up the most difficult heights, driving the rebels from them with the greatest rapidity and success. This scene passing within sight of the royal camp, the chiefs and soldiers, emulous of glory, waited not for orders, but hastened to join the attack in great numbers ; while the emperor and the four princes viewed the fight from the squares of their encampments, with a mixture of anger and satisfaction. At last the enemy were driven from all their works, to the narrow summit round the fort of Daber, where they continued to defend themselves in a desperate manner, but without even the hope of escape from general slaughter ; when night coming on, rendered friends and foes undistinguishable to each other. The khankhanan, sure of having the goorroh in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease the attack, and lie upon their arms in their present position, till the morning should enable him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was so much engaged that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted.

posted. The goorroh, a man of great art, generally appeared in the dress and splendor of a prince, when he wished to be public; but, if occasion required privacy, he disguised himself in the habit of a jogie or synaffee, in such a manner, that few, even among his own people, could know him. During the night, he, without acquainting his followers of his intentions, changed his habit, and left the fort undiscovered. The khankhanan, about dawn, renewed the attack, and gained the place, after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the goorroh dead or alive to the emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders, would by this service be changed to approbation: but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment, at finding that his promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? The goorroh's speed of foot was uncommon, and he only acquainted with the paths and mazes through the hills that led to the snowy mountains, which he had marked for shelter. The khankhanan lost for an instant almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the emperor's anger, not without reason. As he was, agreeable to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph in his way to the royal tents, orders arrived, commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents; where he had the cruel mortification of learning every instant, from messengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour, and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the presence of his majesty, who was highly enraged against him. But though this did not continue long, and Shaw Aulum, regarding his former services, received him again into favour, after a few days, yet this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain he

* Sects of fakeers, or religious mendicants.

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felt at seeing three of the princes and the ameer al amra using all arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction from worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in his health; so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his ^{124.}
^{712.} soul to the angel of death; who never, in the uncounted ages of his office, seized on a soul more pure, or less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

While Shaw Aulum, just as a sovereign, and liberal as a man, reigned over the empire with a gentle hand, in perfect repose, Providence was preparing new revolutions, and Time hastening to disclose events of dreadful importance. The blossoms numerously shooting under the influence of the Imperial spring, were destined to be blasted by the storms of autumn, and only one unkindly fruit to remain on the royal tree. A deadly vapour, poisonous as the piercing venom of the snake, all at once infected the head and heart of Shaw Aulum with pains, violent as from the heavy stroke of the keenest weapon. So instantaneous was the fatal effect, that it gave full reason to imagine it proceeded from poison. He was all at once seized with faintings, which continued without intermission, ^{712.} till, on the 21st of Mohirrim, 1124, being Monday night, he deserted this vain world for that of eternity. He had been, from the first instant of his illness, given over, and the princes and ladies of the haram made continual and loud lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Mahummud Moiz ad Dien and Azeem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Moiz ad Dien, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He
started

started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This occasioned much alarm in the camp, and I, among many others, hastened towards the ¹darbar. I met the prince, with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste; upon observing which, I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me, and sent a messenger to call me to him. As I had previously attached myself to Azeem Ooshawn, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the emperor's tents, where I sat down in the guard-room of ²Mahabut Khan, third bukshi, which was close to that of the ameer al amra, who did duty there in person. He sent for me, and I found with him Mirza Shaw-nowaz Khan Suffawee. I had before interested myself, at the desire of both, in bringing about a connection between Azeem Ooshawn and the ameer al amra; for which purpose I had employed Shekh ³Coodderut Oolla as a messenger, and sometimes my grandson, ⁴Einaiut Oolla. The ameer al amra now desired me to send the latter to Azeem Ooshawn, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and slight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of an hundred. It was written in Shekh Cooderut Oolla's (confidant to the prince) own hand, as follows: "As
 " the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this
 " court, and most have already repaired to it, the ameer al amra
 " may also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception,

¹ The court of the emperor, or any other person in high authority.

² Anglicè, Commanding awe.

³ Anglicè, Providence of God.

⁴ Gift of God.

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“ in the presence.” When the ameer al amra read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, “ You see the manners of the prince and his advisers ! Whatever is the will of God, must take place. Alas ! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted with government, often endanger the very existence of his master. When fortune frowns on any one, he is sure to do that which he should not.” After saying this, he immediately quitted the guard-room, collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of the prince Moiz ad Dien, where he thought his services more likely to answer his own interest.

The camp was so disposed, that the tents of the emperor were pitched along one bank of the river, and on the other opposite, those of the prince Azeem Ooshawn, at a considerable distance from the city. The three other princes were encamped nearer to it, but Moiz ad Dien almost close to the walls, and the greatest part of his train occupied the houses of the nearest streets. The influence, riches and power of Azeem Ooshawn, had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al amra had formerly been disgusted at Azeem Ooshawn, for preferring to himself, the khankhanan and Mahabut Khan, from which time he had courted alternately Ruffeh Ooshawn and Jehaun Shaw. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azeem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.

Azeem Ooshawn, already in possession of the Imperial camp, treasury and jewels, had also a vast treasure of his own. Most of the principal noblemen had joined him, with their followers ; also

* Lahore, situated on the river Rawce, about 200 miles N. of Dhely.

the royal artillery. He had, besides, a very considerable army in his own pay ; so that his brothers, though all leagued against him, would have formed but a weak enemy, if he had immediately attacked them. But he acted otherwise : he encamped on the plain, keeping the river to his rear, and began to throw up works to defend himself, instead of courting a general action. Probably this proceeded from tenderness to his brothers, who he thought would in a few days be deserted by their troops, for want of pay, as they possessed little or no money ; and that they would either willingly acknowledge him emperor, to obtain settlements, or be delivered into his hands by some of their pretended friends, to gain his favour.

While he thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the ameer al amra, drew all the artillery from the fort of Lahore, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear. I happened to be encamped near Mahabut Khan, who immediately, on learning that the ameer al amra had attached himself to Moiz ad Dien, fearing to be plundered by his troops, lost no time in moving off with his family and effects to Azeem Ooshawn, leaving his tents and temporary buildings standing. No sooner was he gone, than the rabble took possession of his camp, which they set on fire, and levelled in an instant with the ground. As, on many accounts, I had resolved to embrace the fortunes of Azeem Ooshawn, I would have gone with him ; but the camp being a standing one, I had neglected my tents, parted with my carriages, and erected temporary sheds for my family, so that I was obliged to remain in an alarming situation, almost alone, for four days. I wished to send my women to my house in the city ; but the road to it led through the allied armies, where it was probable they might be insulted or plundered. On the fifth day, I was eased of my fears, as a strong

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escort came from the prince Azeem Ooshawn to conduct to him Shaw-nowaz Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and some other noblemen, who waited for this security to join him. With them I reached his camp in safety, where I happily got possession of a square walled about, but without any covering or shade: yet even this was as a palace at the time, as it served to protect my women and family. I now paid my respects to the prince, who received me graciously, conferred upon me many favours, and consulted me on all important occasions. Pecuniary rewards, and titles far above my ambition, were allotted for me, and getting ready to pass the seals: at the same time, orders were dispatched to summon my son, 'Hoshe-dar Khan, to the presence, from which he had been detached some time before on actual service, with a select force; and, to pay him, a large sum of money was sent to me. I refused it, however, as I had not people to secure its safety; and requested also, that the rank of five thousand, and title of Azim Khan, which was preparing for me, might not be confirmed, till the prince should become victorious over his enemies, as I had made a vow not to receive them till he should sit unrivalled on the throne of empire. In fact, I perceived in his weak politics, and want of resolution, the decline of his cause; and saw the burning blasts of summer hastening to destroy the season of spring, as the experienced husbandman can judge of his harvests from the changes of the atmosphere.

When Azeem Ooshawn had intrenched himself, and the three brothers began their approaches to his works on every side, his operations became highly blameable in the eyes of the nobility and officers of experience. It appeared to the public, that the superior force dreaded the inferior; and that those who ought to be the

besiegers, were now the besieged. Such was the effect, for Azeem Ooshawn's army grew dispirited daily, while the enemy's gained ardor every hour, at finding that prospect of success, of which in the beginning they had almost despaired. Our soldiers at the works, tired with constant watchings and alarms, grew remiss in their duty: they first required unnecessary assistance, and at last began to desert their posts. The Imperial artillery, to whom a great sum of money had been given as a bounty, became disobedient to orders, and even mutinous, in which points they were followed by those of the household. This behaviour made Azeem Ooshawn change his opinion, that he could purchase victory with money only; so that he opened his treasury but sparingly to the old or new troops, giving, with much reluctance, only one hundred rupees to each trooper who came to offer service with his own horse, for which security was also demanded. At a crisis of this important nature, but few were tempted to quit the service of their old masters, for a sum but inconsiderable in itself, and only attainable with such difficulty. In short, the whole camp began to be alarmed, and even the boldest officers to feel a dread of the ill consequences of being cooped up in unnecessary entrenchments. A cannonade was kept up on both sides for four days, in each of which the three brothers gained some advantage, by advancing their stations nearer to the works of the misguided Azeem Ooshawn.

On the fifth day, Azeem Ooshawn moved from his camp in order of battle, and his son, the prince 'Mahummud Kerreem, though commander of the advanced corps, was with him, instead of being dispatched in front, agreeably to the usual disposition of the line. This was ordered, lest, as the enemy were formed into three bodies, one might gain an advantage over him, and another

* Anglicè, favoured by Mahummud.

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intercept his retreat to the grand line, before he could receive proper assistance. Such was the confusion in forming the troops, that the artillery was quite uselessly disposed, and many pieces, deserted by the men, lay overturned on the ground; while some of the chief officers were by their followers left almost alone, on their elephants, before the action began. Soleyman Khan Afghan first advanced to charge the division of Jehaun Shaw, but he was supported by so few of his followers, that he could effect nothing, and was killed in the onset, before he had reached the enemy's post. Jehaun Shaw moved steadily, in slow order, towards Azeem Ooshawn, whose terrified troops began to fall back from around him. The misconducted, but truly brave prince, when he saw his fortune thus unfavourable, though he might have saved himself by mounting a horse and flying from the field, yet scorned to owe his security to dishonour, and would not move from his elephant, but advanced almost alone towards Jehaun Shaw. This action, and submitting to be sacrificed, was one and the same. His elephant driver was killed in the instant, and the few till then remaining friends to his person deserted him to a man. He received many wounds from arrows and shot, so that he soon sunk down fainting upon his seat; while his elephant, without a driver, and furious with pain, ran through the enemy, who pursued him in vain for some hours, and during that time the unfortunate prince died of fatigue and loss of blood. Sultaun Mahummud Kerreem, his son, in the height of the confusion, threw himself without hurt from his elephant, and mounting a horse brought him by an attendant, escaped from the field of battle; but only to suffer, shortly after, a worse fate than dying in action.

* Ameen ad Dien Sumbullee says, his elephant rushed with him into the Rawee, and was drowned.

It happened that, at the beginning of the action, the three princes were drawn up nearly opposite that part of the camp where I unfortunately had placed my family in a wretched square, to which the enemy advanced still nearer, as the battle raged, and our troops began to fly. Mahabut Khan, Hummeed ad Dien, and other lords, had in the beginning sent their families across the river to places of safety, which precaution I was prevented from using, by being attendant on Azcem Ooshawn's person in the line. The river was about a rocket's flight from the square inclosure, and upon the rout of our line, Khan Zummaun, my friend, advised me, while the enemy's troops were yet employed in fight, to conduct my women out of danger to the other side; at the same time offering me a boat he had ready for his own security against pursuit, and a guard of one hundred and fifty persons, his own followers. Accordingly I placed my wife and daughter in two covered pallekees, with a sum somewhat exceeding four thousand gold mhors, a casket of jewels, betel plate of gold set with jewels, and other very valuable ornaments belonging to my daughter, designed for her marriage portion, leaving clothes and every thing else to chance. As Providence decreed it, the women's pallekees had just arrived at a narrow inlet of water, about an arrow's flight from the river, when Azcem Ooshawn's elephant, and Mahummud Kerreem's, were running towards it, pursued by the enemy. I was advanced a little in front to prepare the boat, when suddenly one of my attendants cried out, "Where are you going? Your honour is ruined!" I looked behind me, and saw the enemy near my women; upon which, in a state of furious despair, I hastened back with my grandson Meer Einaiut Oolla, as Khan Zummaun's people could not reach me in time for my assistance. We two had just joined the women, when the rapacious Moguls had begun to

* About six thousand pounds sterling, reckoning the mhor at fifteen Sicca rupees.

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plunder; upon which I leaped from my horse, and seizing my wife and daughter by each a hand, rushed with them into the rivulet up to their waists, and covered the rest of their persons with a cloth, drawing my sword to defend them with my life from further insult: and, luckily for my honour, their faces were not seen by the eyes of a stranger. The Moguls, more attentive to gain than shedding of blood, after plundering the pallekees and other carriages of every thing, even to the coarsest outer coverings, rode off in search of other prey, without attacking me or my attendants, who were hid in different bushes and hollows. It was during this confusion, that I saw the prince Mahummud Kerreem jump from his elephant, mount a servant's horse, and escape. When the alarm was over, and friends and enemies had passed by, I was joined by my servants from their various shelters, and, having replaced my women in the pallekees, returned to my late miserable dwelling, which had been also plundered, even to foot-cloths and carpets. No pillows or seats were left us but the bare ground, and no apparel but that drenched in water on our backs; nevertheless, I gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the preservation of my life and honour, with a sincere fervor. With the approach of night the confusion slackened, and about nine o'clock all was over, and quiet restored. I then said to myself, "What is gone, is gone!" and, with a calm mind, recited one hundred and twenty verses of the *Mefnavi*, besides an ode applicable to the present state of affairs.

The prince Jehaun Shaw, who had taken possession of the camp of the vanquished, in the morning sent covered carriages and other necessities to me, with a gracious message, desiring that I would come, and pitch my tents near his own. I went accordingly, and was introduced to him. He was sitting alone, under a canopy,

* The *Mefnavi* is a collection of moral poems, by Molewee Jelal ad Dien Rumi.

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near his private apartments. When he saw me, he exclaimed, in a joyful voice, "Come, 'Azim Khan, for thy arrival is at a happy season! I was anxious to see thee." He then took off the *khe-laut*, which he had put on just before, and gave it to me, with the *munsub* of ² six thousand, saying, "I have left one degree of rank to confer upon you on the day of my accession to a throne." After which he dismissed me in a gracious manner, and I took up my station near that of ³ *Lutfoolla Khan Saduk*, his first minister.

Jehaun Shaw, who had gained the victory over *Azeem Ooshawn*, judging, from the purity of his own intentions, that those of his two brothers and the *ameer al amra* were equally just towards him, though fortune had placed all the treasures of the vanquished in his power, scorned to use this advantage, contrary to his oath of alliance. He sent the body of *Azeem Ooshawn* to *Moiz ad Dien*; and, when all the plunder of his camp was collected, delivered the whole without delay into the hands of the *ameer al amra*, who, agreeable to treaty and his own oaths, was to make an impartial division of the provinces and treasures between the brothers. This strictness to his word was the cause of his ruin. The *ameer al amra* had privately resolved to seat *Moiz ad Dien* on the throne without a rival, as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrouled power. With this view, he, on various pretences, delayed making a division of the treasure, knowing that the troops of *Jehaun Shaw* and *Ruffeh Ooshawn* were already mutinously clamorous for the payment of their long arrears, and much

¹ *Anglicè*, Noble lord; the title which *Azeem Ooshawn* had offered to confer on him.

² Seven thousand was properly the highest rank of nobility. In the decline of the empire, rank of eight and ten thousand was conferred on powerful ministers.

³ *Anglicè*, God's mercy. *Saduk*, *Anglicè True*, was his family name.

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disgusted 'at being' deprived 'of 'the great plunder they had expected from the 'camp of Azeem Ooshawn, which had been seized from their grasp by the strict discipline and 'honour of Jehaun Shaw. The ameer al amra, with seeming attachment, visited the princes as usual, and three days passed over without their expressing distrust at his delay ; but their friends clearly saw his designs, and warned Jehaun Shaw against his treachery ; offering to prevent their completion, by putting him to death, when he should come next to pay his respects. The honourable and noble-minded prince refused his assent to such proposals, saying, " I cannot consent to such " dishonourable and perfidious dealing, for which I should become " heinously guilty in the eyes of God, and amongst men marked " as a traitor and abuser of power. If empire is decreed me, I " shall attain it without trouble ; but, if not, of what avail is " treachery, or unjust shedding of human blood ? " At his next visit, he openly told the ameer al amra the suspicions entertained of his conduct, saying, " Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading " that I may be putting thee to death ; which, however politic, I " scorn to do by fraud. Rise then, and go in peace to thine own " house." The ameer al amra departed with a speed and precipitation declaring his guilt. The veil, with which he had covered his designs, became no longer of use ; but, instead of feeling gratitude to Jehaun Shaw for suffering him to live, his enmity increased. He now openly avowed his destruction, and his intentions to support Moiz ad Dien. Though Jehaun Shaw, virtuous and religiously faithful to his word, was generous and just in this great action, yet the policy of government will not admit of such conduct being copied as an example of propriety. The world is deceitful, and cannot be commanded but by deceit. The thief, who should wake his sleeping prey, would only bring ruin on his own head. Virtue and vice being direct opposites, cannot exist in one dwelling. That, the foundation of which is evil, cannot be supported but by evil.

When the ameer al amra had openly refused to perform his agreement, Jehaun Shaw, furious at his behaviour, moved his camp opposite to the treacherous nobleman's, and prepared to offer battle without delay. He had just now the fairest prospect of every success; a fine army, attached to his person with one mind, good artillery, and a great character among his own and the enemy's troops. But—how uncertain is fortune! This night, by permission of God, a fire broke out in the artillery camp: all the rockets and stores of ammunition were destroyed, and our army rendered in one instant totally useless. The merit of this important mischief was afterwards claimed by Rajee Khan Maneckporee, who said the fire was purposely kindled by his spies, for a large bribe. This man was originally of low character and little esteem, but for this service he was gradually raised from a post in the artillery, by Moiz ad Dien, to the rank of six thousand. Immediately after this dreadful accident, Roostum Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan hastened to one of the Imperial powder-works, and obtained some fresh supplies; but the troops, much dispirited with their loss, now became clamorous for money, and began to desert in great numbers. In short, the spirit of the army was changed, so that, excepting Lutfoolla Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and a few others who remained faithful, all the chiefs forfeited their honours, and Jehaun Shaw, plainly perceiving the wavering of his followers, thought it most advisable to prevent worse consequences, by putting all to the hazard of an immediate engagement. The next morning at the dawn of day, (being Monday, *anno* 1124,) he formed his line, and began a cannonade, which was answered by the enemy, and kept up on both sides till mid-day with equal success. At length the fire of Jehaun Shaw began to slacken, and his troops to separate on various pretences, as want of water, guarding their baggage, and the like; so that near half the army deserted gradually, in spite of the prince's repeated orders to maintain the line.

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Observing this, he raised a report that the ameer al amra was killed by a shot, in consequence of which the enemy were alarmed, and that he should immediately charge them, in order to improve so favourable an event. As he sounded the march of victory, his troops believed him, and returned most of them to their posts. He then commanded Janee Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and Mukhlis Khan, to charge one flank of the enemy, and Lootfulla Khan and others in front, he himself heading this last division. It was now about four o'clock, when Jehaun Shaw, without looking behind him to see how he was supported by his troops, advanced on the enemy's center with a furious speed, where the ameer al amra was standing with a few followers, to reconnoitre. Moiz ad Dien had before retired to repose in his tents. Roostum Dil Khan and other chiefs rushed through all opposition to that quarter, gained the tents, and plundered even the ladies of the haram, among whom were many belonging to the late emperor. Moiz ad Dien, roused from sleep, without regarding their safety, fled to seek his own, undressed, as he was, with the ameer al amra, who was engaged against Jehaun Shaw in unequal combat, as he had only with him three or four hundred horse. At this time Ruffeh Ooshawn, who seemingly supported Moiz ad Dien, but was waiting for an opportunity to destroy both him and Jehaun Shaw, appeared in the rear of the latter with his whole force. A corps of infantry also now opposed him in front, not only stopping his charge, but confusing his troops; who, seeing themselves likely to be surrounded, lost all spirit, and fled to a man on the right and left, leaving him exposed alone upon his elephant: and he was soon killed by a musquet shot. His son, Ferkhundeh Akhter, a prince of most promising bodily and mental accomplishments, who sat behind him, descended and fought with his scymetar, till he could stand no longer, and then fell down dead, covered with wounds. Both the bodies were

carried immediately to the ameer al amra, who ordered the march of victory to be sounded. Jehaun Shaw, heroic, just and benevolent, was all perfect; but still, as Providence opposed his fortune, all his plans turned out directly contrary to their proposed end, and what seemed to promise success, became the cause of misfortune. Men judge vainly from events, saying, if he had not done so, thus would or could not have happened: but, alas! in whose power are events? Our faculties, our strength, our thoughts, our friends, are all moved by the instigation of Providence. Nothing can happen without a cause, yet our ruin is often brought on by the very causes which had before occasioned our success; for God doeth that which pleaseth him, and effecteth that which he hath designed.

When the day of this sun of royalty had sunk in the evening of death, there now remained no other rivals than Moiz ad Dien and Ruffeh Ooshawn. The latter had the firmest reliance on the attachment and oaths of the ameer al amra, who, during the life of the late emperor, had been supported by him in the strongest manner against the khankhanan. He also had honoured him, at his own request, by the appellation of uncle, and exchange of turbans; so that he now hoped, as one sovereign seemed to be his choice, that it might rest upon him, in preference to his elder brother. On this account, he had resolved to wait as a spectator of the struggle, till the fall of one of his rivals, and then to rush upon the survivor, while flushed with victory, and unguarded against a new enemy. This design he now communicated to his followers, and desired them to support him in an immediate attack on Moiz ad Dien; but they would not consent, either through fear or treachery, pretending that the dawn of morning was more favour-

* The exchange of turbans, among the orientals, is the most sacred pledge of friendship, and any breach of it, after such ceremony, regarded with horror.

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able than the present instant; so that the prince was obliged to stop, and wait their pleasure. He spent the night under arms, with sleepless impatience for the return of day; but some of his false advisers communicated his plan to the ameer al amira, and promised to assist in the destruction of their patron.

Just as the morning was beginning to appear, Ruffeh Ooshawn advanced silently towards the enemy, hoping to surprize them; but, before he had reached their camp, the commanding officer of his artillery, either through treachery, or ignorance, fired a gun towards the quarter of Moiz ad Dien, which roused his sleeping troops. The alarm was immediately sounded, and the enemy's cannon soon began to play furiously. Who now would stand to support Ruffeh Ooshawn? The greatest number of his followers fled in confusion to the right and left, while Buddukshee, a chief in whom he had reposed the greatest confidence, and whom he had saved from being put to death by his father, whom he had raised to honours, and supported with a liberality unbounded, having privately agreed with the ameer al amira, ungratefully turned his arms against him at this instant. The unhappy prince was in a short time left alone, surrounded by his enemies on every side; but truly brave and spirited, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, he threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, more than sell one life at the expence of many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. May the Almighty shew mercy to his soul! We are from God, and to him we must return.

Such courage, I must with justice remark, never appeared among the descendants of Timur, as shewn by the offspring of Aulumgeer;

nor

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nor do the various histories I have read, record the like gallant opposition of a prince singly against numbers. True valour is proved in the extremity of danger ; but it is easy to assume the appearance of courage in the day of safety.

Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, by the assistance of Providence alone, now founded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Dhely, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the Imperial family. The mausoleums which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shaw.

Be it known to those of enlightened understandings, and to the acquainted with the usages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, some observations and expressions should escape my pen, contrary to respect, and the examples of the historiographers of princes, they will not proceed from disaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a servant, and God forgive me ! but by them I mean no disaffection to his person, or disrespect to the family of Timur ; no vent of my own spleen ; no view to flatter a successor, by disparaging his rival, nor malicious abuse for the neglect or disappointment I may have suffered during this reign. I swear by God, and God is a sacred witness of oaths, that I loved him as my sovereign ; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wise or foolish, in public and private, if they were, without

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without one exception; all unworthy; what can I say, as a faithful writer? Let it be remembered, that I was nourished for fifty years under the benignant shadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How sad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, opposite to him in every quality, succeeding to the very same empire, sitting on the very same throne; and the actions he did, what can I say, or in what terms paint the disgraces they suffered by his accession?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expression operates in advice: the friends to the Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the house of Ali, heightened their style, and represented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praised by good men) that the oppressed might draw the sword against a worthless tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I hesitate to sacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors; and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundar Shaw, by the intrigues and support of the ameer al amra Zoofeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was in himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtesan, which tortured the minds of worthy subjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute

* The two chief Imaums were the sons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahummud, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poison, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom descended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, so highly-respected among the Mahummedans.

authority

authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two corores of rupees annually were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeable to whim, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and

* About two millions sterling.

† The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day passing in a palankeen, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow street, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of servants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithstanding this, Zohera's servants were insolent to his attendants, and, as she passed by, she exclaimed, "Are you the son of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeness. She complained to the mistress, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundar to take notice of it, and command Zoolfeccar Khan to punish the nizam. The nizam had suspected this to happen, and had informed the minister of the affair. When Jehaundar Shaw spoke to him, he was answered, that, to punish the nizam for having corrected an insolent upstart, would enrage all the nobility, who would consider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundar, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundar Shaw's promoting one of his mistress's relations, a musician, to a high rank, Zoolfeccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of sneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his seal of office to the patent, one thousand small tabors. The musician complained to Lall Koor, his patroness, of the indignity offered him; and she told the emperor, insisting that he should reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundar Shaw accordingly reproached the minister, who ironically replied, that, as music was the best recommendation with his majesty for promotion, he had asked the tabors to deliver out to persons of family, that they might, by practising upon them, qualify themselves for high office, and succeed as well as their inferiors, the musicians. Jehaundar Shaw felt the force of the satire, and, being afraid of his minister, withdrew the patent.

her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes : nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to the present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the Imperial palace, so that to pass through the street where they resided was a matter of difficulty, by reason of the throng. To do them justice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the use of their influence at court. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistresses at last grew to such a pitch, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace. This scandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good subjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundai and his abandoned favourites. He after this still more exposed his vices to the public, often, as he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition,

superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a single cloth, in the fountain of the ' Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood ! The mistress had the insolence to abuse the princess ² Zebe al Niffa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundar Shaw, with expressions so vile as were unbecoming the meanest person. This princess had neglected to pay compliments to her, which she received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teized the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to shew attention towards her ; but all was vain. However, he so far complied with her unreasonable entreaties, that he left off visiting the princess, and declined going to an entertainment she had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How shall I relate all his follies ? The above-mentioned are sufficient to shew the sad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate.

The ameer al amra, Zoolfeccar Khan, feater, nay even creator of emperors, with such an image of humanity in his hands, became absolute, and so proud, that ³ Pharaoh and Shudad could not have obtained admission to his threshold. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, or disgrace them, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a

¹ A celebrated fakeer so entitled.

² Anglicè, Ornament of the sex.

³ Pharaoh, and a king of Yemum, or Arabia Felix.

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hand so sparing, that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jaghires to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindoos and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of an hundred years.

Kokultash Khan, foster-brother to the emperor, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khan Jehaun. His wife, daughter, and whole family, also possessed great influence with the emperor, and claimed from him performance of a promise he had made to them of the vizurut. At the same time, they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of the ameer al amra. With this view, all their relations and dependants were raised to high rank; and a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zoolfeccar Khan, joined their party. They insinuated to the emperor, that the ameer al amra entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes, that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or, if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on 'Ali Tibbar, or another of the confined princes, more favourable to his will than his majesty.

The weak Jehaundar, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokultash Khan soon became evident to the whole court, and only served to awaken the vigilance of the ameer al amra, who took measures

* The only surviving son of *Azīm Shāw*, son of the emperor Aurungzebe.

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for his own safety, by removing his enemies. Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and some others, were put to death, and a great number of the nobility laid under confinement on various pretences. The family of the late ¹ khankhanan was reduced so low as to want the common necessaries of life. In short, the disposition of the ameer al amra changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before knowingly, or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of Bedar Bukht, and frequently warned the late emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his mortal enemy the khankhanan, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jehaundar Shaw, who had commanded me to be searched for, and put to death. Thinking it in vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I had written the following verses, and sent them to him by my grandson, Meer Einaiut Oolla, who was much in his favour.

“ My ancestors were attached to ² Ali without views of gain. I
 “ am of the family of Ali ; thou art the ³ Zoolfeccar of ⁴ Hyder.
 “ Remember, I have no chief but thee. I repent of my faults in
 “ some degree, and am come ashamed to thy tribunal. Though I
 “ am meaner than words can express, yet I am of the ⁵ family of
 “ which thou art head. Thou art now the guardian of our ho-
 “ nour : look not at me, but upon our mutual ancestors.”

¹ The celebrated Monauim Khan.

² The son-in-law of M'ohammud. Here it means Azeem al Shawn.

³ A two-bladed sword of Ali's.

⁴ A title given to Ali.

⁵ A syed, or descendant from the prophet's daughter Fatima, by Ali.

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At first he did not trouble himself to open the paper, upon which I sent a second time, when he perused it with attention, and desired the messenger to call me to him; but I did not comply with his invitation, to which I answered, that he had prevailed with promises of safety on many to visit him, and afterwards confined or put them to death; that if such was his design towards me, there was no occasion to use art, as I would of my own accord put on my shroud, and come prepared for the worst before him. To this he answered, by solemn oaths, that he meant no injury towards me; so that I was satisfied, and went to visit him without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed, as usual, and he rose from his musnud to salute me, behaving every way with much kindness, and more than I expected; after which he dismissed me, with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but his majesty observed, that though he forgave; he would not on any account employ me in his service. The ameer al amra too made me promise, that I would not accept of any office in the state, otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with his desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants, and abusers of power.

During the nine months in which Jehaundar Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire, I did not attempt to procure an office, but lived in perfect retirement, except that I now and then unavoidably paid a visit to the ameer al amra, who would frequently ask my advice in public affairs, which I gave him to the extent of my understanding.

In the height of this power and authority, (while the claim of *I am, and no one else*, was gaining strength,) all at once a report was heard

heard that the prince Ferokhsere, son to the martyred Azeem Oofhawn, had marched from Bengal towards Bahar, intending to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne. Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra, though they feigned to disbelieve the intelligence, and despise the attempt, yet in their hearts were struck with dread. Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of the rebellion. While the ameer al amra was fortunate, he saw affairs in a proper light: while at Lahore, he had repeatedly advised Jehaundar Shaw not to remain more than a week in Dhely, but to proceed to Agra, and, if necessary, to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects, while Ferokhsere refused to pay allegiance. Jehaundar Shaw, on his arrival at Dhely, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokultash Khan and his party persuaded him that the ameer al amra had excited this rebellion, and engaged privately with Ferokhsere, to whom he would deliver his majesty a prisoner, should he prevail on him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jehaundar Shaw. He would often exclaim, "I did not kill Azeem Oofhawn: it was the ameer al amra, who must now go and answer the claims of his son, for satisfaction. What have I to do with the business?" The other plans of an emperor, who was thus overcome by fear, may easily be guessed, and need no explanation. The ameer al amra, offended at the distrusts of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah, and his brother Houffein Ali Khan, had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of Azim Shaw,

Shaw, after whose death they had attached themselves to Azeem Ooshawn, by whom they were honoured, the former, with the government of Allahabad; and the latter of the province of Bahar. During the late contests for the empire, they had, for their own safety and that of the country, expended, without orders, considerable sums of the Imperial revenues in the maintenance of extraordinary troops, which had offended Jehaundar Shaw. On his accession to the throne, he appointed Rajee Khan Maneckporee to the government of Allahabad, who sent one of his relations, with a considerable force, to take possession; but he was opposed, defeated, and driven back by Abdoolla Khan. Ferokhsere's rebellion just then arising, the ameer al amra thought it advisable to dispatch an Imperial firmaun, approving Abdoolla Khan's conduct, and confirming him in his government, disclaiming also any assent to the attempts to remove him. Abdoolla Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours, in order to avoid farther trouble from the court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary. When Ferokhsere arrived in Bahar, he was immediately joined by Syed Houffsein Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him, as the son of his patron Azeem Ooshawn. The court of Dhely weakly imagined, that Abdoolla Khan would stop the progress of the prince at Allahabad. Firmauns of encouragement, and great promises, were dispatched to purchase his loyalty, instead of armies to secure it. While the rebellion was daily gathering force, the emperor's ministers, divided against each other, were undetermined how to act. Kokultash Khan refused to take the command of an army, if the ameer al amra remained at Dhely, pretending that the emperor was not safe in his hands, and the latter did not think it proper to quit the court, where, in his absence, such a dangerous rival must possess the whole power. Jehaundar Shaw did not dare to think, much less to fix, whom he should entrust with the command of the army; for so great was

his

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his fear, that one day, when the daughter of Kokultash Khan, presuming on her familiarity, insisted that her father should be declared vizier, and the ameer al amra be sent from Dhely, he replied with terror, “ Hold your peace, or he will put us all to death in an instant.”

At last it was resolved that ² Aiz ad Dien, eldest son of Jehaundar Shaw, should march at the head of an army against the rebels, under the tutelage of Khaja Houssain, Khan Downan, son-in-law to Kokultash Khan, a weak man, who never, unless in dreams, had seen a shot fired. The troops who marched with him did not amount to six thousand, though there were among the officers many ameers of the highest rank. On his arrival at Agra, he was joined by Iauts, Rajapootes, and great numbers of other rabble; also many Fojedours, who covered ground, but were no better than droves of cattle to devour provisions; however, he had with him a fine train of artillery. From Agra, Aiz ad Dien marched without delay to ³ Etawa, and from thence to ⁴ Cudjwa, where Ferokhsere had arrived with the two Syeds, and near seventy thousand horse and foot, mostly adventurers, who served from the hope of benefiting themselves by a revolution.

The two camps being thus near, on the 29th of Showal, early in the morning, Syed Abdoolah Khan and others advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position. This brought on a skirmish, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which continued till night, without much execution; but Khan Dowran, a perfect stranger to

¹ Meaning the ameer al amra.

² Elder brother of the late, and uncle to the present emperor.

³ A large town on the Jumna, thirty coss to the eastward of Agra.

⁴ A considerable town in the district of Kora, where Aurungzebe and Sultan Shujah formerly engaged.

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war,' was much alarmed at the dangers of his new profession. He thought he should do the state most service by saving the prince from (as he conceived) inevitable destruction. Accordingly, unknown to his officers, about midnight he fled with him in a woman's covered pallekee, stopping not till he arrived at Agra, from whence he dispatched to court accounts of his gallant service, and zealous care of the heir-apparent. The officers of his army, in the morning, finding their chief had fled, laid aside all thoughts of resistance, and each provided for his own safety. Most went over to the service of Ferokhsere, and the remainder returned precipitately towards Agra. Syed Abdoolia Khan would not allow them to be pursued, and, what has often perplexed my understanding to account for, advised Ferokhsere to halt some time in the camp of the fugitives, instead of following his success with rapidity. The news of the defeat reaching Dhely, threw the court into such confusion, that no other plan was at first resolved on, than to wait the enemy's approach in the vicinity of the city, and hazard all in one engagement, as it was expected time would not allow of more distant operations. Accordingly, Rajee Khan was ordered with the Imperial artillery to ' Feridabad, where ground was chosen for the general camp, and preparations made for the emperor's march.

As soon as it became known that Ferokhsere had not advanced beyond the field of battle, Jehaundar Shaw altered his resolution of remaining at Dhely, and began his march towards Agra. On his arrival there, the ameer al amia opened the royal treasures, which had been for ages laid up, disposing of money, jewels, plate, and valuable effects, to the amount of two corores of rupees, among the troops, who now were seventy thousand horse, and foot without number. Most of them too were veteran soldiers, but little affected

• About three cofs from the city.

to the royal cause, as they had experienced flights in the days of peace, and knew this profuse bounty to proceed only from the necessity of the times. The Imperial army encamped at first near the gardens of Dehera; but, upon intelligence arriving that Ferokhsere had advanced to Eatimadpore, near the river, intending to cross, it was thought advisable to move along the opposite bank to prevent him. Both armies remained a week thus, in sight of each other; and people of judgment decided, in their own minds, that victory would be to that prince who should first cross and attack his rival.

On the night of the 13th of Zeekaud, intelligence was received that the Syeds had, by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gaow Ghaut, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all the artillery; also that Ferokhsere, with his whole army, intended to follow the next day. I was present when this news was brought to the ameer al amra, who, on hearing it, was visibly affected and alarmed, as were all the nobility then present in his train. Orders of march were issued for the next morning, to meet the enemy, whose camp was, by the late manœuvre, removed ten coss distant. Jehaundar Shaw moved accordingly, but halted before he had sight of the enemy, encamping on the broken ground and hollow ways on the banks of the Jumna. This dispirited the troops, who judged that their generals had chosen a strong position, more from fear of a sudden attack, than proper caution and judgment of the ground. The next morning, however, the Imperial army continued the march to Secundra, and the day after to Gaow Ghaut, where the enemy's troops were still crossing, and Ferokhsere had not as yet come to this side. The ameer al amra, with a number of nobility, advanced in front to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, as did also the emperor, when he arrived with the main army. The Syeds, notwithstanding their inferior force, drew up

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to receive them, but the ameer al amra chose to defer taking advantage of his present situation, as it was now late in the afternoon, and the fall of night, during an action, would create much confusion and disorder. With this idea, he chose to encamp on the banks of a rivulet which ran between him and the enemy.

Early in the morning of the next day, which began with heavy clouds and rain, I went to visit the ameer al amra, who was just come from the emperor's tents, and preparing to take some refreshment; upon which, I asked my dismissal, and returned to my own tents, intending to sleep. By this time the clouds had dispersed, and the sun shone very bright. A little after mid-day, I was alarmed by the drums beating to arms, and a confused noise, when running to my door, I saw the ameer al amra mounting his elephant with great haste, and undressed; upon which I got ready my attendants, about forty persons, and followed him with all possible speed. Upon my arrival, he was standing upon elevated ground, looking round him. I asked what had caused the alarm, when he replied, that the enemy were drawing out their line, seemingly with intentions to cannonade. Our troops now hastened to form, the ameer al amra in front, and upon his right Kokultash Khan. In the center stood the emperor, Jehaundar Shaw, attended by Rajee Khan, with the royal artillery. To the left were the troops of Mortuzza Khan Bukshi, and many other amras. The enemy's army advanced slowly till within reach of cannon-shot, when they played upon us with their artillery and rockets, which were answered with great fury by Rajee Khan. Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurungzebe a long account of one
of

of his battles with Dara Shekkoh. The emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described. In short, I shall only relate what I saw. After a cannonade of some time, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge our's, one with a red, and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Raja Jubbeleh Ram, and the latter of Syed Houssain Ali Khan. Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to the ameer al amra, who immediately dispatched orders for Abdul Summud Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the enemy charged directly on Kokultash Khan, and the other pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the center, in which was Jehaundar Shaw. Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place, as the men, elephants and horses, became entangled among the ropes of tents, carriages and baggage. Numbers fled, but the ameer al amra remained firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill-supported, though Syed Houssain Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Jubbeleh Ram was not more successful in his charge on Kokultash Khan. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but just then Syed Abdoolah Khan, with a great body, charged Jehaundar Shaw, who stood with his troops, already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the ameer al amra. They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides, while the women's elephants, those of the jewel office and treasury, ran here and there, carrying disorder along with them. Jehaundar Shaw hastily joined the corps of Kokultash Khan, and was pursued by the enemy, who thus forced him between two fires, Ferokhsere having

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having now come to the assistance of Jubbeeleh Ram, who had renewed the attack in front. Kokultash Khan was killed after a short struggle, his troops dispersed, and Jehaundar Shaw disappeared from his elephant. This made the rout general, and only the ameer al amra kept his ground. When he could hear no tidings of the emperor, and it became dark, he retired slowly to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of his sovereign, with the hopes, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and making one more effort the next day; but all in vain. Jehaundar Shaw could not be found; upon which he thought proper to provide for his own safety, and marched away towards Dhely. Thus, in the space of a few hours, was this government destroyed, and another possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Ferokehser, who sounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, and had no enmity to either party, yet I remained in the field till the ameer al amra had retired, when thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city with about a hundred persons who sought my protection, and retired to one of my own gardens, where I enjoyed perfect repose from my fatigues. In the morning, I wrote to Syed Abdoolla Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and be introduced to the new emperor. He replied to my letter with much kindness, and I paid my compliments to him as he passed by my dwelling the following day, when he carried me with him to his own house. The emperor Ferokehser entered the city the next morning, to pray in public at the tomb of Akber, on his return from whence I was allowed to pay him my respects. Syed Abdoolla Khan marched towards Dhely the day after, and chose to take me with him, which I did not think proper to decline. As yet, it was not certainly

tainly known to what quarter Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra had fled. Affud ad Dowlah, father to the latter, was in the command of Dhely, and had in his power the confined princes. It was apprehended that the ameer al amra would retreat to Dekkan with his master, but he not finding that prince, thought proper to go to Dhely. Jehaundar Shaw, who had shaved his beard and whiskers to prevent being known, arrived a short time before the ameer al amra, at the palace of Affud ad Dowlah. This was soon known throughout the city; upon which the friends to the family of Azeem Oosliawn surrounded the house, and demanded the delivery of the royal fugitive into their charge. Affud ad Dowlah was obliged to confine him, to suppress their clamours. Making a virtue of necessity, he wrote a petition to Ferokhsere, implying, that he had imprisoned Jehaundar in his own house, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his disposal. In return, firmauns were dispatched applauding his conduct, forgiving all past offences, and continuing him in the vizarut, with Syed Abdoollah Khan as his deputy, to whose care Jehaundar Shaw was for the present to be entrusted. All these gracious assurances satisfied Affud ad Dowlah, and had such an effect on the ameer al amra; his son, that he thought it best to remain at Dhely, and wait the emperor's mercy, which he hoped would spare his forfeited life and fortune.

When Ferokhsere arrived near Dhely, he commanded Affud ad Dowlah and his son to be brought into his presence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return in safety to his own house, but the latter was led to a private tent, and, after a few questions had been asked him, he was strangled, as a punishment for his crimes, and an example to others. His body was afterwards tied with the head downwards on an elephant, together with that of Jehaundar Shaw, who had been put to death in prison, and exposed in the

MEMOIRS OF, &c.

new emperor's train, when he made his triumphant entry to the palace; after which, both bodies were thrown into the street, before the great mosque, and remained some days a spectacle to the mob. The estates of the father and son were confiscated, and their family, which had filled for above two hundred years the highest offices of the state, was thus in an instant levelled with the dust, and, like that of 'Bermekke, totally ruined. Some other traitors were also punished with death, which impressed the subject with respect for government, and proved that however, for a time, treasons might be attended with success, at length the prosperity of the house of Timur would be prevalent over all opposition.

Such is the first beaming of the heaven-given fortune of his majesty, which, by divine blessing, is ascending to the zenith of glory and renown. Praise be to God, by whose favour the conclusion of my book is auspicious! and mercy upon the chosen of mankind, Mahummud, his descendants, his friends and followers, for evermore! Amen.

* Known in Europe by the name of Barmecides, as mentioned in the life of Haroon al Rasheed, in the History of the Caliphs.

P R E F A C E.

IN the compilation of the following part of my work, I have used chiefly the authority of Persian manuscripts, a list of which is at the end of the volume; and from much conversation with many principal and well informed natives on the subject of their history, I can assert the received authenticity of the facts related.

For the account of the situation of the present emperor, Shaw Aulum, from 1771 to 1779, I owe the chief materials to my friend Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, whose long residence and connections at the court of Dhely enabled him to obtain the best information of public and private transactions.

The Persic Journal of the cruel proceedings of the unprincipled and inhuman Rhohilla chief, Gholaum Kaudir, was written by an eye witness on the scene of their perpetration, and transmitted me by my brother Captain RICHARD SCOTT. In this, and such other materials that would bear it, literality as much as possible

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possible has been observed; but I will not pretend that the following pages are wholly translations, some anecdotes having been inserted from oral information, also a few observations on characters and circumstances, of my own. These it is needless to point out, as the variation of idiom will distinguish them from the parts translated.

FEROKHSERE.

WHEN the new emperor Ferokhsere had reposed a few days from his fatigues, and order was restored in the city of Agra, he began his march towards Dhely, and shortly after arrived at Khizzerabad, about four miles distant from that capital. The next morning ^{A. H. 1125.} ^{A. D. 1713.} Asoph ad Dowlah and his son the ameer al amra came to pay their respects, and were honoured with dresses and other marks of the royal favour; after which the former was dismissed to his own tents, but the latter commanded to wait. He accordingly remained in the divan with Khaujeh Affim. In a little time a dinner was brought in from the royal table for the ameer al amra, who at first refused to eat, suspecting poison; but on the khaujeh's offering to partake, his fears subsided, and he agreed to dine. The khaujeh now observing, that it was contrary to the rules of court to eat in the ^b divan, proposed moving to a ^c square of skreens in the area

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before

^a In the Memoirs of Eradut Khan styled Affud ad Dowlah, also one of his titles.

^b Hall of audience.

^c Called in India kanauts. They are made of cotton cloth, sometimes flowered, but generally in stripes of red and white or blue and white, about seven feet high, and strengthened with the bamboo cane, sewed in at five or six feet distance, which prevent their bellying with the wind. The tents of the great men are always surrounded with them, and make a beautiful appearance. The royal tents are encircled with skreens nine or ten feet high, which are always plain red, and called ferra perda.

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before it, which they did ; but the ameer al amra had no sooner entered than the opening was shut upon him, and Khaujeh Affim remained without. At the same instant two hundred armed men rushed into the court and surrounded the square.

Half an hour had not elapsed, when Abdoollah Khan, superintendant of the khowaufs, or domestic servants, came out from the emperor's apartment, and entering the screens, spoke as follows to the ameer al amra.

“ His majesty commands you to inform him why you confined Kaum Bukhsh in Dekkan, and illused his friends, contrary to loyalty and respect to the emperor ?” The ameer al amra unhesitatingly answered,

“ I confined the prince by the orders of Aulumgeer, his sovereign and mine. Had he commanded me to imprison my own father, I should have readily complied.” Abdoollah Khan then withdrew, but instantly returning from the emperor, said,

“ You were the general and chief minister of ^b Azim Shaw, was it acting loyally to desert him in the field, and seek your own safety by flight ?” He answered,

“ While he was alive I kept the field, but when he was slain, I dared not to oppose a prince of the blood without a rival of equal dignity at the head of our army.” Upon this, Abdoollah Khan

^a The prince Kaum Bukhsh was confined at the siege of Jinjee, a strong fortress on the coast of Coromandel, being strongly suspected of a design of joining the enemy and rebelling against his father Aulumgeer, as related in his reign.

^b *Vide* Memoirs of Eradut Khan for this transaction. The ameer al amra was the principal general of Azim Shaw when defeated by his brother Shaw Aulum.

Khan returned, but coming back soon, said, "What were the circumstances of your conduct to the martyred prince, his majesty's father, Azcem Ooshawn?"

The ameer al amra answered, "He behaved inattentively to me, and I then attached myself to his brother; but in this did no more than other nobles, who each embraced the cause of the prince he best loved, and from whom he received the greatest favours."

Abdoollah Khan then said, "Why was his majesty's beloved brother inhumanly murdered in cool blood, many days after the battle, when other princes were allowed to live?" The ameer al amra convinced, by this question, that no submissions or entreaties could spare his life, angrily exclaimed, "If I am to die, kill me instantly, nor vex me longer with vain interrogations."

Upon this, Lacheen Beg and other ^achelas rushing upon him, threw him on the ground; and having strangled him with a bow-string, stamped upon his breast, and stabbed him with daggers in several parts of the body. When quite cold, the corpse was drawn out with ropes, and cast without the court of the divan, as a spectacle to the populace. His effects and estates, with those of his father, were confiscated to the royal use.

The day succeeding this tragedy Ferokhsere marched from Khizzerabad, and made his public entry into Dhely with imperial splendour.

^a Every prince of Hindoostan has a band of attendants distinguished by this appellation. They are supposed to be always ready to devote their lives, and are too often employed in assassinations. Tippoo Saheb has a battalion of them, among whom he has enrolled many of our unfortunate countrymen, whom he forcibly circumcised. They are generally captives taken in infancy, or purchased slaves educated under the eye of the prince. The jeoghians in the court of Constantinople are of a similar description.

splendour. The heads of the late emperor his uncle, Jehaundar Shaw, and the ameer al amra, were carried on poles in the cavalcade; their bodies hanging feet upwards across an elephant, as marks of his triumph. The aged minister Afoph ad Dowlah was also compelled to attend the procession, shabbily dressed, in a palanquin, and accompanied by the ladies of his family, as spectators of their own disgrace. They were afterwards confined in the palace of Khan Jehaun. Raja Soobeh Chund, dewan to the late ameer al amra, had his tongue cut out, and his property seized. "Be not self-secure from the retribution of your actions, for every seed sown produceth its kind." Many nobles and dependants of the late emperor were put to death by the bow-string and other punishments. Aiz ad'Dien, son of Jehaundar Shaw, Ali Tibbar, the son of Azim Shaw, and Hoomaioon Bukht, younger brother to Ferokhsere, were deprived of sight by a red hot iron drawn over their eyes. Owing to the unjust slaughter and punishments inflicted on numbers innocent of crimes, persons of all ranks were seized with horror. The dread of death was so great, that many nobles previous to going to court used to take leave of their families, and on their return home offer prayers and alms, as in thanksgiving for escape from imminent danger.

Ferokhsere had not long enjoyed the throne, when a jealousy arose between him and the vizier *Koottub al Moolk, which at last extended to open contention, and finally occasioned the downfall of the empire and ruin of Hindoostan. The vizier, after the victory of Agra, had been dispatched to settle affairs at Dhely, where, without consulting Ferokhsere, he had disposed of two principal offices to his friends; but the emperor on his arrival wished to confer them on other persons. Koottub al Moolk upon this, observed, that if, in the very commencement of his office, his advice should
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* Syed Abdoollah Khan, appointed vizier with the above title, on Ferokhsere's accession. It signifies, The axis of the state.

not be followed, it would destroy his credit as vizier; while Meer Jumlah, Ferokhsere's private favourite, remarked to him, that how far soever princes might trust servants with power, yet they ought to keep due deference, and not appoint to important stations without orders from the presence. In short, though this dispute ended in the vizier's giving up one of the offices to the emperor's choice, yet it left mutual hatred in their minds. But the chief cause of confusion in affairs, and the consequent disrepute of the vizier, his brother the ^aameer al amra, and all the syeds of Bareh, was this: Ferokhsere had none of the qualities of empire, penetration or conduct. He was of low mind and manners, and possessed only an ill-placed liberality, bestowing extravagant favours on men without desert and of low rank. Yet generosity is such a quality, that, however profuse, it has its admirers. Persons eager of gain will praise it, and it leaves a good name to the possessor in this frail world. Ferokhsere was therefore beloved by the common people; but, in fact, he had not the least ability for sovereign command, or even the lowest office in a state.

Meer Jumlah, envious and aspiring, but void of capacity, sought superiority over all the nobility; and having scattered to the winds the honour and fortunes of Asoph ad Dowlah and his son, accumulated during a century and half, was meditating the destruction of the syeds. He could not see them the patrons of the people and guiders of administration. Koottub al Moolk also, being much addicted to women and luxury, sought for leisure, and had entrusted the reins of his authority to his dewan Ruttun Chund, who had been purveyor to his family; a man, rigid in his idolatrous faith, but incapable of directing the affairs of the vizarut, the highest office in the empire. From these causes, contentions daily encreasing, eventually ruined the imperial authority of the family

^a Syed Houssain Alee Khan, honoured by this title on Ferokhsere's success near Agra.

family of Timur, which had been established four hundred years, and the syeds of Bareh were abused as traitors to future time. A world was destroyed by these enmities, and the empire of Hindooſtan irrecoverably diſordered.

The emperor and Meer Jumlah, with their partizans, had formed a plan for the ſeparation of the brothers, which was, to diſpatch one for the puniſhment of ^a Maharaja Ajeet Sing Rhatoree, who, ſince the death of Aulumgeer, had been guilty of rebellion, by deſtroying the moſques and erecting idol temples in his zemindary, and, as yet, with impunity, owing to the wars of Shaw Aulum with his brothers, the inſurrections of the ſiks, and the ſucceeding broils of the imperial family, from the death of Shaw Aulum till the preſent time. The ameer al amra, Houſſein Alea Khan, accordingly marched with a conſiderable army; and Ajeet Sing, ſeized with dread at his approach, having evacuated the low lands, took refuge in the ſtrefſes of the mountains, with his family and effects. Notwithſtanding the hints he received from court to oppoſe the ameer al amra, he ſent ambaffadors to beg quarter and forgiveness of his offences. As at this period the faction at court having raiſed the flames of diſagreement between the emperor and the vizier, were conſpiring to imprifon him, he wrote repeated *letters to his brother, conjuring him to haſten to Dhely.* The ameer al amra therefore, being fearful of delay, received the ſubmiſſions of Ajeet Sing, obliged him to pay a large ^b peſhcuſh, to give a daughter in marriage to Ferokhſere, and ſend his ſon to court. After concluding this treaty, he returned to the capital.

Koottub

^a The rajas of Rhatore, called alſo Marwar, were of the firſt conſequence in Hindooſtan; but of late their power has much decreaſed, and a great part of their territory been wreſted from them by the Mharattas.

^b An offering of money, made on taking poſſeſſion of an office or lands from government, alſo as an acknowledgment of ſubmiſſion on receiving pardon for ſtate offences.

Koottub al Moolk being vizier, and his brother ameer al amra, it was difficult to exercise any act of government, such as the conference of honours, lands, or appointment to offices, without their approbation, and they wished nothing to be done contrary to their pleasure. At the same time, Meer Jumlah, the confidential minister of the emperor, who had publicly signified that his promise and signature were the same as his own, received applications and granted petitions, in order to obtain popularity; but Ruttun Chund, dewan to the vizier, displeased at his interference, refused obedience to the royal orders through the favourite; nor indeed would he forward any person's business without a present for himself and his patron. For these reasons he was not only hated by Ferokhsere and Meer Jumlah, but by the people; yet, emboldened by the support of his master, he behaved with great insolence. The brothers were enraged at Meer Jumlah, who on his part represented their conduct as disloyal, to the emperor, who was so much alarmed, that he wished to secure their persons by stratagem, and often tried to effect it, but in vain. His plans were betrayed to the ministers, and only added enmity to enmity and injury to injury. It is said, that the mother of Ferokhsere acquainted them with the designs of her son, as she was guarantee to the treaty between them, when the brothers had first embraced his cause against Jehaundar Shaw.

The ameer al amra, on his return to Dhely, requested the government of Dekkan, intending to leave Daood Khan Punnee as his deputy in that country, to receive from him a certain yearly sum, and to remain himself at court; but the emperor and Meer Jumlah wished him to depart. This he declined, fearful of leaving his brother alone among enemies. The dispute on this point grew so high, that the brothers left off attending the court, levied troops, and fortified themselves in their palaces; while Ferokhsere held councils against them with Meer Jumlah, Mahummud Ameen Khan,

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and Khan Dowraun; but from his irresolution and cowardice, his plans were changed day after day, and nothing was determined. Owing to the rumours of these dissensions, business was at a stand in the capital, so that the necessaries of life became very dear.

When much time had passed in this manner, and mediators interfered, the emperor's mother went to the house of Koottub al Moolk, and satisfied his mind, by agreeing that his troops should garrison the citadel, while he and the ameer al amra visited her son. Accordingly, the brothers came to court, asked pardon for their offences, and complained of the emperor's suspicions of their attachment from the insinuations of intriguing persons. Taking off their swords, they laid them at his feet, saying, "If we are guilty, here are our heads, and there the instruments of punishment; but if, from regard to our services, our deaths should be uneasy to the royal mind, displace and dismiss us from the presence, that we may gather purity in a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy tombs of our illustrious ancestors. If it is the royal will to use our services, and keep us in the presence, to listen to the calumny of the factious, and injure and disgrace us, is contrary to the practice of just sovereigns and the rules of prudence." At length affairs were thus adjusted, that Meer Jumlah, being promoted to the soubadary of Bahar, should be banished the presence, and the ameer al amra march to Dekkan.

Meer Jumlah was dismissed to his government in a few days after the reconciliation. Nizam al Moolk was recalled from Dekkan, and Daood Khan ordered from Guzarat to Boorahanpore, there to wait the commands of the ameer al amra.

After

* The grandsons of Mahummud by his daughter Fatima, the wife of Alec.

After these arrangements, the emperor, who was recovered from a severe illness, which had hitherto prevented the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, issued orders for preparations for that ceremony. The ameer al amra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence, till then unseen

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among

* It was about this time that the East India Company obtained their firman of free trade from Ferokhsere. The embassy sent to him had been some time unsuccessfully employed, owing to the intrigues of the nabob of Bengal, when an accident occasioned a sudden and fortunate conclusion to the negotiation. Ferokhsere was seized with a disorder which the skill of his own physicians could not cure, and he was given over by them. Reduced to this extremity, he was advised to trust his case to Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon to the embassy, who, by an operation, restored him to health. During the operation it was reported, that the emperor had died under the surgeon's hands; and so great was the fury of the populace, that they surrounded the house of the ambassadors, threatening to destroy them. They were only to be appeased by Ferokhsere's shewing himself to them from a balcony of the palace, and assuring them that he had received new life from the skill of Mr. Hamilton. Upon this the English became as much venerated, as they had been before despised. Ferokhsere conferred great marks of distinction on Mr. Hamilton, and promised to grant any favour he chose to ask. Mr. Hamilton, instead of requesting rewards for himself, besought the grant of the Company's requisitions; which were instantly complied with, and the fees of office remitted. Upon the return of the embassy, the emperor was very urgent with Mr. Hamilton to remain in his service, which he declined for the present; but promised to return, when he should have settled his affairs at Calcutta. Among the presents made him by Ferokhsere, were models of all his surgical instruments of pure gold. Mr. Hamilton, soon after his return to Bengal, died of a putrid fever; and the emperor, not satisfied with the account of this event from the governor and council, sent an officer of rank to Calcutta to examine the truth from the natives, whose solemn testimony and that of the Europeans were taken to the emperor. I had this anecdote from Mr. Hastings, who tells me, that at his first arrival in India there were living witnesses of the circumstances of it, and Mr. Hamilton's monument was to be seen in the burial ground of Calcutta, upon which the account of them was engraved. In a Life of Ferokhsere, the circumstance of his recovery by a European surgeon is mentioned; also the delay of his marriage from illness. The Company owe something to the memory of a man who so nobly preferred their interest to his own advantage.

among the princes of Hindoostan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal train upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. High and low shared the festivity, and joy thrilled through the veins of all. The emperor came to the palace of the ameer al amra, where the ceremony was performed; after which, he carried the princess in the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amid the resoundings of musical instruments and acclamations of the populace.

The ameer al amra, having assured Ferokhsere, that in case of any breach of the royal promise, or designs against his brother Koottub al Moolk, he would return to Dhely in twenty days, began his march towards Dekkan. The emperor however had recalled Daood Khan, the chief of an Afghaun tribe of tried valour, and possessing great influence and friendship with the Mharattas, from the government of Guzarat to that of Boorahanpore, apparently as deputy to the ameer al amra, but with secret orders to oppose and cut him off. Daood Khan, on his arrival at Boorahanpore, began to act as if independant; upon which the ameer al amra sent a message to him, that as the government of all Dekkan had been conferred upon him, it was necessary he should not draw his foot from the circle of obedience, but come to meet him submissively, or retire to Dhely. Daood Khan, disregarding this, pitched his camp under the walls of the city, and called to his assistance Neemajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief, who had been taken into the imperial service by Shaw Aulum, and enjoyed the rank of seven thousand, with several districts in jaghire in the vicinity of Aurungabad.

The ameer al amra, when arrived near Boorahanpore, repeated his admonitions, but in vain, upon which he marched to punish him; and Daood Khan, who regarded himself as the hero of his
age.

age, was prepared to receive him. The engagement was very bloody on both sides. Daood Khan had given orders to his elephant driver to carry him to the ameer al amra, whom he was ambitious of attacking in person; and notwithstanding his advanced line, which had charged the artillery of the enemy, was driven back with great slaughter, he, with many of his chief officers mounted on elephants, made repeated attempts to break through the foe. His bravery began to alarm the troops of the ameer al amra, several of whose principal dependants were killed and wounded, and among them Meer Mushriff, the chief officer and favourite of his master, who was wounded by an arrow from Daood Khan, and thrown from his elephant. At length Daood Khan approached near the ameer al amra, whose army, now seized with a panic, fled on all sides, leaving him with only a few confidential attendants. At this crisis, a matchlock ball struck Daood Khan, who fell dead on the seat of his elephant; and the day of his prosperity sunk into the darkness of destruction. His followers instantly dispersed, and the ameer al amra sounded the trumpets of victory, commanding the body of Daood Khan to be dragged at the tail of an elephant round the city of Boorahanpore. Neemajee Sindia, who in the beginning of the action had retired to a distance with his followers, came up to congratulate the victor, and his troops plundered the fugitives of his late patron. The effects, horses, and elephants of Daood Khan were seized by the ameer al amra, who, some time afterwards, sent a few of the latter to court.

The following circumstance is related. Daood Khan, while soubadar of Guzarat, had married the daughter of a zemindar of that province, and she was at the time of his death seven months gone with child. Determined not to survive her lord, she ripped open her womb, so as to save the life of the infant, and died. When the emperor received intelligence of the victory gained by the ameer al amra, he was much afflicted, and said to Koottub al Moolk,

Moolk, that so valiant and celebrated a chief, as Daood Khan, had been unjustly slain; when the vizier observed, that had his brother fallen by the hand of the Afghaun, his majesty would have been of a different opinion.

During this year, by the well conducted valour of Abd al Sumud Khan, Bunda, chief of the siks, who had pretended to royalty, and committed great depredations in the province of Lahore, was taken prisoner, and received the just reward of his crimes. He was ^a lineally descended from an adopted son of Nannuk Shaw, the founder of the religion of the siks, in the reign of the emperor Baber. Nannuk was the son of a Hindoo grain merchant of the Kuttree tribe, and being a youth of good capacity and pleasing manners, engaged the notice of syed Houffun, a celebrated dirvesh, by whose instructions he made great progress in learning, and became an admirer of the systems of speculative and contemplative divinity of the mussulmaun devotees. Having selected some of their tenets, he translated them into the Punjaubee dialect, with additions of his own, and called the composition Kirrunt, which became the guide of his disciples, who at first formed only a religious sect, without laying claim to political consequence. Nannuk left two sons, but neither of them assumed the supremacy of their order, which was given by election to Angud, one of their father's followers, who held it thirteen years. He, having no son, was succeeded by a disciple, who presided over the order twenty two years, and though he had sons, he placed Ramdass, his son in law, in the direction. Ramdass lived only seven years, and was succeeded by his son Gooroh Arjun, whose son Hir Govind inherited his dignity. Hir Govind's eldest son dying, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hir Roy, who after seventeen years left this world, and was succeeded by his infant son Hir Kishen. He having no issue,
his

* This is contradicted by other writers, who say he was of obscure parentage; but the siks believe this account of his descent, or affect to do so.

his uncle Teeghe Bahadur, younger son of Hir Govind, was elected, but was put to death as a dangerous heretic in the seventeenth year of Aulumgeer's reign, he having collected his followers, and levied contributions from the inhabitants of his neighbourhood, in conjunction with Hafiz Adam, a mussulmaun devotee, and his votaries. Some time after the death of Teeghe Bahadur, his son Goorroh Govind, having collected his followers, gave them arms and horses, which till his time they had never used, and began to commit depredations; but he was soon obliged to fly, and two of his sons, being taken prisoners, were put to death. Being desirous of returning to his home, he prevailed on some Afghauns to conduct him, disguised as one of their devotees, through the army stationed at Sirhind; and for the remainder of his life kept himself retired, having lost his faculties in grief for his sons. He ordered his disciples to wear blue, and leave their beards and the hair of their heads unshaved, which they do to this day^a. He was succeeded by Bunda, one of his followers, who was also called Goorroh Govind. This man obtained great power; and while Shaw Aulum was in Dekkan against Kaum Bukhsh, collected his followers, to revenge the death of his predecessor's sons. He committed the greatest cruelties on the mussulmauns, in every advantage shewing no quarter to age or sex, and even ripping up women with child. The emperor Shaw Aulum found it necessary to march in person against him, and he was besieged in the fortrefs of Loeh Ghur, which was taken, but Bunda found means to escape, and raise new insurrections.

The

^a The sikhs admit proselytes from any sect. They profess deism. Their ceremonies I am not informed of. They mourn at a birth, and rejoice at death. It is said, every proselyte is obliged to drink the water, in which some sikhs have washed their feet, mixed with hog's blood; a horrid abomination to a pious mussulmaun. Hindoo proselytes drink water, in which a few drops of a cow's blood have been mingled.

AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS.

The death of Shaw Aulum, the disputes of his sons, and the unsettled state of Jhaundar Shaw's government, prevented means being taken for the extirpation of the heresy; and Bunda, taking advantage of the distraction of the times, acquired an alarming degree of power. Upon the accession of Ferokhsere, Islaum Khan, soubadar of Lahore, was sent against him, but defeated with great slaughter; upon which Bazeed Khaun, fojedaur of Sirhind, was commanded to punish him, and took the field. He was assassinated in his tent, when alone at evening prayers, by a sik, commissioned for that purpose by Bunda, and the murderer escaped unhurt. Abd al Summud Khan, governor of Kashmeer, was now promoted to the soubadary of Lahore, and sent against the rebels with a great army. After many severe engagements, he forced Bunda to take refuge in a fortress, which was blockaded so effectually, as to cut off every supply. The garrison was reduced to the necessity of eating cows, horses, asses, and other animals forbidden by their laws; when at length, having no provision of any sort left, and being reduced to the extremity of famine and disease, they begged for quarter. Abd al Summud Khan, having planted a standard on the plain, commanded them to come out and lay their arms under it, which they did. He then divided the meaner sort among his chiefs, who cut off their heads, and threw their bodies into a river near the fortress. The chiefs and persons of rank he put in chains, and placed them upon camels and asses, with caps of paper on their heads, and proceeded with them to Lahore in this manner, to excite the derision and insults of the populace. The mother of Bazeed Khan, whose murderer had been rewarded by the siks, and distinguished by the title of Tara Sing, upon his being pointed out to her in the procession, threw down a heavy stone from the roof of her house as he passed, and killed him on the spot, in revenge for the death of her son. After some days, Bunda and the other captives were sent to Dhely; through which he was carried in an iron cage upon an elephant, dressed in a robe of gold brocade, and upon his head

head a red turban, embroidered with gold. Behind him sat a soldier with a drawn sabre. Preceding him were borne by persons mounted on elephants numberless heads of his disciples on long poles, also a cat upon a staff, to denote that not an animal belonging to him was spared from slaughter. After his elephant came, tied two and two upon camels, seven hundred and forty prisoners, having each a hand bound to his neck. Upon their heads were fantastic caps, and they wore habits of sheep skins, with the wool outwards. The siks bore the insults of the populace with the greatest firmness, and steadily refused the emperor's offers of life if they would embrace the Mahummedan faith. They were put to death, an hundred each day, on the ensuing seven days. On the eighth, Bunda and his son, with their remaining friends, were executed without the city. They were carried to the place of execution in ridiculous procession. A dagger was put into the hands of the chief, who was commanded to kill his infant son; but refusing, the child was slain by the executioner, his heart torn out, and forced into the father's mouth. Bunda was then put to death, by the tearing of his flesh with red hot pincers and other tortures, which he bore with the greatest constancy; and had he not inflicted similar cruelties on others, he might be regarded as a martyr to his faith. It is said, he made the following reply to Mahummud Ameen Khan, who had remonstrated with him on his conduct: "When the sins of a people become excessive, the divine Avenger sends forth among them a tyrant, like myself, to punish their crimes; but when the measure of justice is filled, commits him to the hands of one more powerful, that he may receive the reward of his actions. What are the cruelties and oppressions of the wicked, if they shew not the rod of the Almighty!"^a

VOL. II.

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Ferokhsere

^a The siks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Pungjaub, and Moultan, with great part of Dhely, and bands of them have more than once made inroads on the navob vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by

8. Ferokhsere had levied a body of twenty thousand horse, and
 5. settled the pay of each man at * fifty rupees per month, which had
 now fallen in arrear a whole year. Many of the officers having
 from two to nine hundred men, had served, in hopes of procuring
 jaghires, without personal pay, during this period, at the end of
 which orders were issued to dismiss them. At this crisis, also, Meer
 Jumlah arrived at Dhely from his government of Bahar, where
 affairs were in the utmost confusion, owing to his bad conduct.
 He had kept up a greater force than he could pay, so that the
 soldiers became mutinous, and committed the greatest outrages and
 oppressions on the inhabitants of the city of Patna, and the districts.
 Meer Jumlah, dreading a revolt as dangerous to his personal safety,
 fled unknown to his followers, and travelling in a covered litter
 reached Dhely in fifteen days from Patna. His sudden arrival gave
 universal credit to reports, which had been prevailing, that Ferokh-
 sere was meditating the imprisonment of the vizier; and though he
 was not admitted to the presence, but received tokens of the royal
 displeasure for quitting his government without orders, and went him-
 self to visit Koottub al Moolk, whose mediation he begged with the
 humblest entreaties, his conduct was interpreted as deceitful. The
 discharged cavalry, clamorous for arrears, had surrounded the palaces
 of Mahummud Ameen, paymaster, Khan Dowraun, deputy to the
 ameer al amra, and Meer Jumlah, which was attributed to the
 intrigues of the latter, and an intent of seizing the vizier in the
 tumult. Koottub al Moolk being alarmed, collected his dependants
 from

by the approach of our army. They have a tradition among them, from their
 founder Nannuk, that their order and power will be destroyed by white men
 from the west, and they regard Europeans as the people destined to fulfil the
 prophecy. Nannuk is said also to have told the emperor Baber, that his de-
 scendants would fill the throne of Dhely for ten generations, and no longer.
 If so, this prophecy may be regarded as nearly verified, Shaw Aulum being the
 tenth in descent; and it is more than probable, that after him an emperor
 will cease to be acknowledged in Hindoostan. At present he is merely nominal.

* Between five and six pounds sterling.

from the neighbouring districts; and during five or six days the capital was a scene of confusion, both the mutineers and the forces of the vizier being under arms, watching the motions of each other day and night. At length Meer Jumlah took refuge with Mahumud Ameen Khan, and Ferokhsere, to calm the suspicions of the vizier, having removed him from his employments, banished him to Lahore, and satisfied the soldiery; but this, as there was no sincerity between the parties, did not put an end to their jealousies; so that the emperor never went to hunt or made a movement, but reports arose that it was to seize Koottub al Moolk, who was always in alarm, and surrounded by troops for his protection.

In this year died the Navob Asoph ad Dowlah Affud Khan Bahadur, father to the late ameer al amra, in the ninety fourth lunar year of his age. He was descended from an illustrious family of Turkomauns. His father fled from the oppressions of Shaw Abbas of Persia into Hindoostan, was raised to high rank by Jehaungeer, and married the daughter of a near relation to his empress Noor Jehaun. The name of Asoph ad Dowlah was Ibrahim. He was very early noticed by Shaw Jehaun, who married him to a daughter of his vizier Asoph Jah, brother to the empress above mentioned, and promoted him to the office of second bukhshi, which he held till the fifteenth year of Aulumgeer, when he was raised to the rank of four thousand, and a few years afterwards to the office of vizier, and highest order of nobility, seven thousand. He was continued in employment by Azim Shaw, upon whose death he was distinguished by Shaw Aulum, appointed a vaqueel muttulluk, and his son made ameer al amra; but on the accession of Ferokhsere he was disgraced, had his estates seized, and his son was put to death. Since that period, he had lived upon a scanty pension in a sort of confinement, but much respected by all ranks. It is

A. H. 1129

A. D. 1716

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reported,

* An officer properly controuling every department, never created but on great emergencies. To Asoph ad Dowlah it was a mere nominal honour.

reported, that Ferokhsere, in his last illness, sent to ask his pardon, for his treatment of him, and to request his advice how to act towards the syeds. Asoph ad Dowlah said, that the emperor had been led to do wrong by his unlucky destiny, and when he had ruined his family, he had destroyed the pillars of the empire of Timur; that as he had entrusted the reins of government to the syeds, he should seek only their satisfaction, for dissention could only render his affairs worse, and draw down ruin upon his own head. Asoph ad Dowlah was buried with great funeral pomp, at the expense of the emperor, in a mausoleum, erected by his father for the family.

Ferokhsere, by the advice of his favourites, had appointed several persons to offices in Dekkan; but the ameer al amra, regarding them as inimical to his authority, kept them unemployed by various excuses, and filled their places with his own dependants; which enraged the emperor, who was treated also with the same disrespect by his vizier at Dhely. The dewan, Raja Ruttun Chund, controuled all the imperial offices, so as to leave their possessors only a name. He farmed out in lease the royal demesnes to his own creatures; and the imperial dewan and Roy Royan, whose peculiar employ it was to regulate them, finding it in vain to please the emperor and his ministers, being divested of all power, requested to resign their nominal offices.

Ferokhsere, willing if possible to regain his authority, recalled to court Einaut Oollah Khan, who had been dewan to Aulumgeer, intending

* Left this expression should be misunderstood, it is signified, that the property of the soil is all in the emperor, and the landholders are removeable at pleasure, but they were suffered to be hereditary, unless in cases of treason, rebellion, or defalcation of revenue, except in those districts above named demesnes, which were reserved for the private support of the royal household, and were farmed to renters annually, or in lease.

intending to restore him to his former office ; but this nobleman, fearful of offending the powerful vizier, at first declined the offer, nor did Koottub al Moolk, who had experienced his abilities, wish for such a rival. He was, however, at length persuaded by Akhilaafs Khan, his friend, who tried to reconcile the jarring interests, to consent to the appointment, on a promise that Einaiut Oollah should not propose any thing to the emperor, or fill inferior offices, without his knowledge and approbation, and agreed that Ruttun Chund should not interfere in the management of the royal revenue. As Koottub al Moolk, on account of the displeasure of Ferokhsere and his own fondness for pleasure, sat but little in the courts of the vizarut, which occasioned great delay in business and vexation to clients, Einaiut Oollah requested that he would at least come once a day to his office ; which he promised, but soon failed to perform.

Einaiut Oollah Khan, notwithstanding his reputed abilities, did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from those of the reign of Aulumgeer. He obtained the emperor's orders to revive the ^acapitation tax upon infidels ; which disoblged Raja Ruttun Chund and all the Hindoos. As many eunuchs, Kashmirians, Hindoos, and persons of bad characters, had procured valuable jaghires, so as to leave no subsistence or rewards for the deserving, he wished to confiscate some and lessen others, to make room for them. This regulation interfering with the dependants of Koottub al Moolk, he was much displeased, and all the deputies in office hated the strictness of the new dewan. The agreement between him and the vizier was soon broken, and changed into mutual opposition. A dependant of Ruttun Chund, who owed a considerable balance of revenue to government, was confined for the debt by Einaiut Oollah, who refused to release him at the request of his patron ; but the defaulter finding means to make his escape, took shelter

^a Thirteen rupees per annum for every two thousand of property possessed by the Hindoos. The lame, blind, and very poor, were excused.

shelter in his house, and Ruttun Chund would not give him up to the royal officers. The emperor, enraged at his insolence, commanded Koottub al Moolk to discharge him from his service; but the vizier would not obey.

Another great cause of disagreement between the emperor and Koottub al Moolk was this: Raja Jey Sing had been dispatched with a powerful army to reduce Chooramun, chief of the Jauts, who had raised a rebellion in the province of Agra; the rebel, after a resistance of nearly a year, being reduced to extremity, sent an agent to Koottub al Moolk, offering to pay him a considerable sum of money, a large pension to the royal treasury, and to come and make his submissions at court, if he would procure his pardon and recall the troops of Jey Sing. The vizier, thinking to procure a new and useful partizan in Chooramun, obliged Ferokhsere, much against his inclination, to accept the offers. The rebel accordingly came to Dhely, and was admitted once to the royal presence. Raja Jey Sing was greatly displeased at the escape of Chooramun from his hands, and complained to Ferokhsere of the indignity shewn him in return for his services. Disagreeable intelligence also arrived from Dekkan, which caused fresh dissensions at court, and at length involved the empire in confusion.

When the ameer al amra, after the defeat of Daood Khan, had proceeded to the capital of Aurungabad, and began to adjust the affairs of his government, he found that Kaundoo Dhearee, who was established on the part of Raja Sahoo in the province of Khandeshe, had erected a chain of small forts on the high road between the port of Surat and the city of Boorahanpore. His Mharattas, issuing from these stations, obliged merchants and travellers to pay a fourth part of their property; or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole, and confined their persons till they received

received a ransom. The ameer al amra dispatched one of his chiefs, with four thousand horse and as many foot, to expell the Mharattas, and raze the forts; but this officer being drawn into an ambush by Kaundoo Dhearee, who pretended to fly before him, was defeated and slain, with many of his troops, and the remainder were made prisoners. The ameer al amra now sent against the rebels Mohukkum Sing, his dewan, and his own brother Syef ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Boorahanpore, in great force; upon which Kaundoo, not chusing to hazard an engagement, retired to his master Raja Sahoo in the fortress of Sittarra, but his followers continued to commit depredations as usual, cautiously avoiding their enemy. Mohukkum Sing, unable to bring the Mharattas to a decisive action, marched to besiege Sittarra, when he was recalled by the ameer al amra, who had obtained intelligence of dissensions at Dhely, and that the emperor had sent private orders to Raja Sahoo and all the persons of authority in Dekkan to oppose and distress him. From this cause, though he was visited by Mubariz Khan, soubadar of Ahmedabad, and other imperial officers, yet he never could properly establish his authority in Beejapore, Hyderabad, or the Carnatics.

The emperor Aulumgeer, in a war of twenty five years, had reduced the two remaining mussulmaun^a monarchies of Dekkan, and taken forty fortresses from the Mharattas, when Tara Bhay, widow of Ramrauje, their chief, offered to submit, if he would allow her ten rupees in each hundred from the collections of the country, as original proprietor of the soil. The emperor, however, either disdainig to make terms with infidels, or from avarice, refused this offer. Shaw Aulum, his successor, entered into negotiations for a treaty with Tara Bhay and Raja Sahoo; but, owing to disagreements between the two latter concerning the division of the allowance, it was never finally adjusted; and upon his return from
Dekkan

^a Beejapore and Golconda.

Dekkan the Mharattas demanded the choute, or fourth part of the revenues, which the soubahdar Daood Khan agreed to pay them, on condition that the jaghires of the princes of the blood and his own should be excepted from this tribute; also, that his own agent, Heeramun, should superintend their collections, and that they should not plunder or molest caravans. Thus affairs were tolerably conducted during his government, and, at first, in that of his successor Nizam al Moolk, which lasted only a year and five months; but in the latter part of it the Mharattas renewed their plunders.

The ameer al amra, finding the emperor leagued with the enemy, and his brother the vizier opposed at Dhely, thought it most prudent to make peace, and bind the Mharattas to his interest. He accordingly ratified the conditions granted them by Daood Khan, with the addition of the allowance of deesmukkee, or ten rupees in every hundred. It was settled, that Bishonaut and Chimnajee should reside as agents of Raja Sahoo, with a respectable force, at Aurungabad, to receive the choute, and that they should establish collectors in the districts over the deesmukkee. Thus, for a time, the calamities of war and its attendant famine, which had vexed Dekkan for a long series of years, subsided, and the people began to taste repose; but the governors of districts and farmers of revenue were more distressed than ever, as they had now three collectors, one from the presence, one for the choute, and a third for the deesmukkee. Ferokhsere was highly enraged at the ameer al amra for concluding this treaty, but had not the courage to refuse his assent, or ability to counteract the usurpations of his minister, who directed the affairs of Dekkan as he pleased, employing none but his own dependants, and paying no attention to the royal appointments, unless he was assured of the fidelity of the persons to himself.

About this time Ferokhsere had conferred the government of Boorahanpore, as deputy to the ameer al amra, upon Jaun Nissar Khan, an old nobleman of respected character, and related by adoption to the ministers, in hopes that he would hearken to his advice, and become more obedient to the imperial pleasure. Jaun Nissar Khan arrived at the Nerbudda with only his common attendants, not chusing to raise troops, lest the appearance of them should excite jealousy in the ameer al amra, especially as Mahummud Ameen Khan had been detached with an army to Malwa, a province bordering on Dekkan, at the same time he received his commission. Reports had already spread at Aurungabad, that the motive for the march of these nobles was the destruction of the ameer al amra, and had magnified the domestic train of one into eight thousand horse, as an advanced body to an army under the latter of sixty thousand men. The ameer al amra, however, was soon better informed, by the receipt of letters from Jaun Nissar Khan, who requested an escort of troops to bring him to his presence, his small train being insufficient to protect him against a banditti of Mharattas, who infested the high road, under Sunta, a chief, independant of Raja Sahoo. The ameer al amra complied with his request; and upon his arrival at Aurungabad treated him with great respect, but delayed sending him to Boorahanpore, not chusing to trust a frontier station to one sent by the emperor.

This year was also distinguished by the rapid and extraordinary exaltation of Mahummud Moraud. This man, by birth a Kashmirian, and native of the same place as ^a Sahebeh Nisswaun, mother to Ferokhsere, was by her introduced to the emperor, whom he persuaded that he could easily effect the destruction of the fyeds, without coming to open war, or causing confusion in the state. Ferokhsere, gratified by his flatteries, suddenly promoted him to the

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rank

^a *Anglice*, Chief of women.

rank of seven thousand, with suitable jaghires, and the title of * Rukkun ad Dowlah. He daily conferred upon him the most extravagant presents of jewels and money; also the rich bedstead, sumptuously adorned with precious stones, of the emperor Shaw Jehaun. As Rukkun ad Dowlah was a man of infamous character, it was supposed the emperor was a partner in his vice. By his counsel, Nizam al Moolk was recalled to court from his government of Moraudabad, and Sirbullund Khan from that of Patna, with great promises of favour, to join their influence in the destruction of the syeds. Ajeet Sing, raja of Rhatore and father in law to the emperor, was also invited to court for the same purpose; but immediately upon his arrival, seeing the irresolution and varying councils of the cabinet, he thought it safest to attach himself to the vizier. Nizam al Moolk and Sirbullund Khan, who expected the vizarut and ameer al amraship, being told by the emperor that he intended the former office for Rukkun ad Dowlah, resolved to run no risque merely to serve the favourite, under whom they esteemed it a disgrace to rank. Upon this, the district of Moraudabad was taken from Nizam al Moolk, and being with additional lands created into a soubahdary, was conferred on Rukkun ad Dowlah. Many others of the principal nobility were also invited to accomplish the ruin of the ministers; but all, finding that it was only to aggrandize a worthless minion, refused compliance. During these cabals, the ^b eed al fitter occurred, when the emperor as usual went in state, attended by the nobility and troops, to the place of worship without the city; and it was rumoured, that on this day the vizier would be taken prisoner or assassinated. Koottub al Moolk attended, but no attempt was made against him. Jealousies and apprehensions had now arisen to such a height, that he no longer thought himself safe without his brother, and accordingly

* Pillar of the state.

^b Festival on conclusion of the great fast of Ramazan.

ingly wrote him to hasten to Dhely for their mutual security, as the most powerful vassals of the empire were collected in the capital; and Ferokhsere was daily planning schemes for their destruction.

The ameer al amra, enraged by the intelligence from his brother, resolved to march to his assistance, and by a decisive blow to destroy the power of their enemies. He had already, in order to alarm Ferokhsere, received with great pomp and ceremony from Raja Sahoo, a youth called Moien ad Dien, said to be a son of ^a Sultan Akber, and had requested leave to come to court, as the air of Dekkan was unfavourable to his health. Ferokhsere was now filled with dread, and attempted a reconciliation with the vizier; who, in order to gain time for the arrival of his brother, took a fresh oath of fidelity, as did the emperor of regard and attachment; but there was no sincerity on either side. Akhlaas Khan was dispatched to assure the ameer al amra of the emperor's regard, and prevail upon him to remain in Dekkan. Koottub al Moolk employed himself in attaching to his interest, or at least to stand neuter, the few consequential nobility, who had not joined his party, and he succeeded. Nizam al Moolk was promised the government of Malwa, and Sirbullund Khan that of Cabul. Mahummud Ameen Khan and Khan Dowraun were also drawn over; so that Ferokhsere had now no person of real consequence or ability attached to him, but Maharaja Jey Sing. He advised the emperor to take the field, and trust his cause to the affection of his troops, who would be animated to their duty by seeing their sovereign at their head, and desert the minister, but in vain. Ferokhsere, cowardly, and infatuated, would not quit the walls of his palace, where he continued; at one time laying schemes for the assassina-

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tion

^a Fourth son of Auringzebe.

tion of the brothers, and at another, on their discovery, making abject submissions, and imploring forgiveness ; every effort at freedom concluding in greater restrictions upon his authority, and hazard to his person.

1. 8. The ameer al amra having placed his own garrisons in such fortresses of Dekkan as he chose to retain, and given up the remainder to the Mharattas, as the price of their friendship, began his march, with an army of above thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of whom were Mharattas. Near the fort of * Mando, he was met by Akhlaas Khan, who had been sent from Dhely by the emperor to assure him of his regard, and to prevail on him to return to Dekkan; but this agent was secretly a spy of the vizier's. Instead of performing the royal commission, he represented the reconciliation of Ferokhsere as pretended, magnified the dangerous influence of Rukkun ad Dowlah, and set forth the danger the vizier was in from so many of the principal nobility at Dhely with troops, particularly Nizam al Moolk, Sirbullund Khan, Mahummud Ameen Khan, and Maharaja Jey Sing, who would certainly support the emperor, should he but consent to withdraw his favour from Rukkun ad Dowlah. The ameer al amra continued his march, and upon his arrival at Oojein received advice, that the emperor, alarmed at his approach, had paid a visit to Koottub al Moolk, honoured him by placing his turban upon his head, and that the most sacred oaths of friendship had been taken between them; that on the following day the vizier, with Maharaja Ajeet Sing, had gone to court, where the protestations of fidelity and favour were renewed; and Ferokhsere had signified in full assembly to Rukkun ad Dowlah and his dependants, that he would henceforth exclude all jealousies of the ministers from his heart. The ameer al amra, on hearing this news, said in public
durbar

* Once the capital of Malwa, now in ruins. It belongs to the Mharattas.

darbar with a loud voice, that if the emperor had sincerely no enmity against him, and should receive him with real favour, he would on his part form no plans but of loyalty and attachment, and would, after receiving audience and delivering up his royal prisoner, return to his government. He was not however sincere in his declarations, for it has been heard from the mouths of his intimates, that, immediately after, he told them in private, that he was convinced the emperor would ruin his family, should he ever have it in his power, and their only security was in his dethronement. He proceeded on his march, and at the distance of about four days from the capital was met by many of the principal nobility, and his brother's deywan, Raja Ruttun Chund, who related to him exaggerated accounts of the conduct of Ferokhsere and his favourites ; which enraged him so much, that he shewed open contempt to Zuffir Khan and others, who had been sent from the emperor to compliment and assure him of the royal favour. At length they encamped close to Dhely, near the minaret of Feroze Shaw, and, contrary to the rules of etiquette, commanded his band of music to play on his entering his tents, saying, that he no longer considered himself as a servant of the emperor, and would not regard the royal ceremonials.

Ferokhsere, upon intelligence of such a mark of disrespect, was overwhelmed with dread, and at a loss how to act. At one time he resolved to exert his authority, and take the field, to punish the rebel ; but his fears soon returned, and he had recourse to mediation and entreaty. Maharaja Jey Sing now again advised him to leave the palace, and encamp ; assuring him, that he would instantly be joined by the imperial servants, who would
double

* Agreeably to the ceremonial, no person is allowed, without permission, to use the band or nobut within twenty four miles of the royal residence.

double the force of the brothers in number, and punish their insolence; that it was most probable their own followers would desert them, should they see his majesty resolved, and join the imperial standard, when the ministers must submit to his pleasure, or fly. Ferokhsere would not be roused to action. He now determined to give himself up to the mercy of the vizier and ameer al amra, and even commanded all the nobility to receive their orders, and act as they directed. At length he received a message from Koottub al Moolk, that if he would dismiss Jey Sing from court, and confer the offices immediately about the royal person, such as the command of the palace artillery, the direction of the halls of audience, and intendancy of the domestics, on their dependants, and admit a guard of their troops into the citadel, he and his brother would come and pay their obeisance with readiness and loyalty. Ferokhsere in reply, assured them that he would confer the above offices on Koottub al Moolk and other syeds, and receive their visit on the festival of the 'noroze, which would begin in a few days. Jey Sing, having received the royal orders to quit Dhely without delay, retired to his zemindary of Ambere, unable to assist his wretched sovereign.

The unhappy Ferokhsere having consented to the demands of the syeds, on the eighth of February their troops were admitted into the palace, and the royal guards withdrawn; when Koottub al Moolk with Maharaja Ajeet Sing entered, and posted their dependants where they thought proper, to prevent treachery. None of the imperial servants, but Rukkun ad Dowlah, Imteauz Khan, Rooshun ad Dowlah, and a few domestics and

* First day of the Persian solar year, which is observed as a high festival. The emperor is weighed in a scale against somewhat of every sort, from jewels and gold to the most common necessaries of life, which are distributed to the poor.

and eunuchs, were allowed to remain with the emperor. The ameer al amra, in princely splendour and parade, attended by his army, marched through the city, and entered the palace towards evening, his troops remaining under arms without, to prevent disorders in the avenues. He was received with the greatest distinction by the emperor, who shed tears, and placed his own turban upon his head; conferring upon him also, all the jewels he had upon his dress; but the ameer al amra behaved haughtily, refused part of the gifts, and having upbraided his majesty with ingratitude and want of confidence in himself and his brother, who had been the instruments of his exaltation to the throne, took his leave in an hasty manner, neglecting the customary ceremonial of respect at his departure, and returned to his camp. At the same time the vizier, with his followers, left the palace, and the royal guards were readmitted to their stations.

Ferokhsere, though thus disrespectfully treated by his ministers, who, it was easy to perceive, were not now to be controuled, or reconciled to his authority by his condescensions, took no means to protect his person. It is probable, he thought the brothers would be contented with the powers of government, and leave him the name and pageantry of emperor, and that he had resolved to struggle no longer for greater privileges of royalty. Seven days passed after the interview. On the evening of the seventh, he signified his intentions to hunt in the vicinity of Dhely the following morning, but laid aside his design on the receipt of a message from Koottub al Moolk, that the ameer al amra had fixed on the next, as a lucky day, to deliver up the captive prince he had brought from Dekkan, and to receive his audience of dismissal to his government. It has been said, the brothers had information that Ferokhsere's wish to hunt was only a pretence to favour his escape

escape from their hands, and that he had resolved to fly to Maharaja Jey Sing; but this does not appear probable, as he had suffered so many days to elapse without attempting to quit the palace, which he could have more easily effected in disguise, and unattended, than with his usual suite and cumbrous train of majesty.

On the morning of the sixteenth of February, Koottub al Moolk, attended by Maharaja Ajeet Sing, some confidential dependants and guards, came to the citadel, and were allowed as before to dismiss the royal garrison, and supply their posts with their own. The ameer al amra then dispatched his troops to occupy the avenues to the palace, and about three in the afternoon came in great pomp through the city, carrying in his train, upon an elephant in a covered ** ambaree*, the pretended captive prince; but he did not proceed to the palace, alighting at the pavilion of Shaisteh Khan, some distance from it, where he remained. The vizier and Ajeet Sing now introduced themselves to the emperor, and demanded certain concessions and appointments for themselves and friends. Koottub al Moolk in angry terms set forth, that in return for the services performed by himself and his brother, they had met with only ill-founded jealousies, and treacherous attempts upon their lives; of which the royal orders to Daood Khan and others to oppose them were clear proofs; that they could not any longer submit to his authority, unless they had security for their personal safety, by all the offices of the palace being committed to the hands of their own friends, upon which they must insist. Ferokhsere, notwithstanding he saw himself entirely in the power of his enemies, desired they would wait till the approaching festival, when their requests should be complied with; which the vizier refused, and Rukkun ad Dowlah attempting to pacify his anger, was ordered in opprobrious terms to quit the citadel. This he did in the greatest confusion, and was conveyed to his own house in the palanquin of Imteauz

** A canopied seat.*

Imteauz Khan, not using his own, through fear of being molested by the troops. Ferokhsere now retreated to the apartments of the women, which he hoped would not be violated by the rebels. Night was advanced, and day, like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in darkness. The gates of the citadel were closed upon his friends. The vizier and Ajeet Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city. No one knew what was passing in the palace, and the troops of the ameer al amra, with ten thousand Mharattas, remained under arms. Early in the morning, a rumour took place that the vizier had been killed by Ajeet Sing, who had resolved to protect the emperor, his son in law; upon which several noblemen prepared to rise against the ameer al amra. By this time a quarrel had happened between some soldiers of Khan Dowraun and a party of Mharattas, and while they were engaged, the train of Mahummud Ameen Khan, who was coming to visit the ameer al amra, appearing, was mistaken by the Mharattas for an enemy, which struck them with a panic, and they endeavoured to fly out of the city. The populace attacked them, and killed about fifteen hundred, with three chiefs of note. So great was their fright, that numbers quitted their horses, and sought shelter in houses, where they were plundered. Mahummud Ameen Khan repaired to the ameer al amra, and exculpated himself from causing this disorder. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, Sadaut Khan, his sons, and other nobles, had now drawn out their dependants against the rebels in one quarter of the city, and in another, Munnower Azaree had collected five thousand men for the same purpose; Rukkun ad Dowlah and other amrās were also ready with their troops in another part. The friends of the ameer al amra, alarmed at the rumour of his brother's death, and the flight of the Mharattas, were in a wavering state, and ready to make their escape, when their courage was revived by intelligence of the vizier's safety. This was soon spread abroad, and the emperor's

servants were dispersed with little bloodshed or resistance. It was now confirmed that Ferokhsere had been taken prisoner; and the nobles announced to the people from the walls of the citadel, the accession of Ruffeh al Dirjaut to the throne, which appeased the tumult, and order was in great measure restored. Many houses however were plundered, and the royal stables burned, during the disturbance.

It is said, that Koottub al Moolk repeatedly requested Ferokhsere to quit the private apartments, and designed to leave him in possession of the throne, if he would consent to certain restrictions; but the emperor would not trust his person from the haram. While arguments were carrying on between him and the vizier, the tumult began without the city, and Koottub al Moolk received information from his brother, that no time was to be lost, as there was danger of a general revolt of their friends and the people. Reduced to extremity, he commanded some Afghans to force the doors, under the conduct of his brother Nudjum ad Dien, who having effected it, though bravely resisted by the Georgian, Ethiopian, and Turkish women-attendants, entered the ladies' apartments. After much search, he found the emperor, surrounded by his mother, wife, daughter, and other princesses, who entreated for his safety; but, at such a time, in vain. He was forced from among them in the most injurious manner, and immediately confined in a dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace. Ruffeh al Dirjaut, the son of Ruffeh al Kudder, youngest son of Shaw Aulum, was then taken from among the confined princes, and seated on the throne, with the title of 'Abou Berkaut Shumse ad Dien Mahummud. His accession was announced

* Band of Music.

* Son of divine favour, Sun of the religion of Mahummud.

ABOU BERKAUT RUFFEH AL DIRJAUT.

UPON the accession of the new emperor, who was yet in his minority, it was agreed, that Kootub al Moolk should reside in the palace; which he filled with his own dependants and relations, removing even the eunuchs and other domesticks for those of his own choice. At the first public divan a firmaun was issued, at the request of Maharaja Ajeet Sing and Ruttun Chund, to annul the capitation tax on unbelievers, and orders were sent to the different provinces confirming the governors and officers in possession of their posts. Rukkun ad Dowlah was put under strict confinement, his fortune confiscated, and proclamation made for the discovery of his effects, as it was supposed he had secreted great sums and valuable jewels given him by Ferokhsere among his friends. Severe tortures were also inflicted upon his person, to compel a disclosure of his wealth. The jaghires and property of all the dependants of the late emperor were seized, excepting those of the ranny his queen, daughter to Ajeet Sing, at whose request they were spared, and she was allowed to return to her father. The *walla shawee munsubdars and cavalry, many of whom had served long without pay in hope of obtaining jaghires, and those who had an allowance but were greatly in arrears, were disbanded without receiving any part; and orders issued, that such of them as chose it, might enter the service of the ameer al amra, at fifty rupees per month for each horseman. Mahummud Ameen Khan

was

* A corps raised before Ferokhsere's accession to the empire, by that prince.

was appointed second, and Muzzuffir Khan third bukhshi. Though Nizam al Moolk, regarding the uncertainty of the times, wished to retire, he was prevailed upon to accept the soubahdary of Malwa. Sirbullund Khan, who had marched towards Cabul, but had halted about thirty miles from Dhely to watch the turn of events, was recalled to court, and received a fresh investiture in his government; after which he proceeded. Mahummud Reza was made chief cauzee, and Ameer Khan, an old nobleman of Aulumgeer's reign, appointed * suddur al suddoor; but all the affairs of revenue and justice were in fact only the deputies of Raja Ruttun Chund. No alteration was made in the arrangements of the provinces, lest it should occasion discontent and confusion, of which little had yet occurred at any distance from the capital.

The death of Ferokhsere is related in two different modes, both of which shall be given, leaving the truth or falsehood on their authors.

It has been confidently said by many credible persons, that the brothers, without inflicting any personal injury, committed him to the care of an Afghaun officer in a gateway of the palace. Ferokhsere one night left his chamber, while his keeper was asleep, intending to let himself down from the battlements of the citadel, by his turban and vestband; but was soon discovered by the wary Afghaun, who forced him with blows from the terrace; which disgrace so affected the unhappy prince, that he beat his head with such force against the walls of his prison as to fracture his skull, and he died immediately.

Mahummud Ashum relates the following account, which is given in his own words.

“ The

* An office somewhat similar to chief justice. The intendency of charity lands, and pensions to the learned and religious, were also under its controul.

" The wretched emperor was confined nearly two months in
 " a dark chamber, enduring various calamities. A hot iron was
 " drawn over his eyes, but it did not wholly destroy his sight.
 " Still anxious for liberty, he sent repeated messages to the syeds,
 " begging mercy and restoration to his throne; offering to act in
 " all affairs agreeably to their pleasure. Sometimes he flattered
 " his keeper, Abdoolla Khan Afghaun, promising him the greatest
 " rewards if he would conduct him to Maharaja Jey Sing; of
 " which the Afghaun informing his employers, they became fear-
 " ful of his escape, and resolved upon his death. Poison was
 " twice mingled in his victuals without effect; but being adminis-
 " tered a third time, he was thrown into violent agonies, and
 " continued long in torture. During his pangs he invoked curses
 " on his murderers, and called on God, whose name had witnessed
 " the treaty he had made with them, to avenge his cause by in-
 " stant punishment. The brothers, upon this, ordered his death
 " to be hastened with the bow-string, but it was with difficulty the
 " executioners could place it round his neck, as he seized it with
 " his hands, and they were obliged to beat them with clubs, so
 " that he was put to great pain before he expired. It was re-
 " ported, that he was also mangled with sabres; but the author
 " has heard this contradicted by the executioners themselves, who
 " related the above particulars to him with tears of compunction.
 " The evening of the day following, the body was carried for in-
 " terment to the tomb of *Hoomaioon. The populace attended
 " the procession in crowds, cursing the syeds, and lamenting
 " Ferokhsere, who was much beloved by the meaner sort for his
 " great charities towards them. They insulted the officers who
 " conducted the funeral by abusive words, pelting them with stones
 " and filth; nor would any one receive from them the alms
 " offered as usual on such occasions. On the third day after the
 " burial, all the poor of the city repaired to the terrace on which
 " the

* Father of the emperor Akber.

“ the corpse had been washed, to renew their mournings; and
“ having subscribed to procure ^a molowees and buy ^b victuals, con-
“ tinued lamenting and praying all night till the dawn of morn-
“ ing.” Thus far says Mahummud Ashum. But surely the divine
vengeance was shewn in the misfortunes and death of Ferokh-
sere, for he had inflicted those cruelties on others which he now
tasted of himself. As for the syeds they shortly also received re-
tribution for their actions.

The brothers, now possessed of absolute authority and the im-
perial treasures, acted as they thought proper. They divided
money, jewels, elephants, horses, and rich plate between them;
and Koottub al Moolk, who was much addicted to women, seized
several ladies of the royal haram for his own use. The new
emperor was but a child, and no more than a pageant; but he
did not long survive his exaltation, dying of a consumption, after
a nominal reign of four months and a few days; being succeeded
by his younger brother Ruffeh ad Dowlah.

RUFFEH

^a Professors of divinity, or teachers.

^b At the fateah, or third day after the interment of a corpse, the relations
and friends of the deceased meet to pray for the repose of the soul, when
victuals are distributed to all comers and the poor. This ceremony is also
renewed every anniversary of the death.

" RUFFEH AD DOWLAH.

IMMEDIATELY on the accession of Ruffeh ad Dowlah, a rebellion broke out at Agra. The governor of this citadel, willing to take advantage of the troubles of the state, supported by his garrison and some munsubdars of the province, proclaimed as emperor sultan Nekoofeer, son of Akber, youngest son of Aulumgeer, hoping that he should speedily be joined by Maharaja Jey Sing, and other nobles inimical to the syeds. The brothers, upon receiving intelligence of this commotion, marched with Ruffeh ad Dowlah from Dhely without delay, and reached Agra before the governor could receive any important assistance. He held out the citadel for some days, in hopes of succour; but, finding that a plot was laid by his own troops to deliver him up to his enemy, he put himself to death, and the place was given up to the ministers, who punished a few of the officers with death, and remanded Nekoofeer to his confinement. Soon after this, Ruffeh ad Dowlah was taken ill, and being past hopes of recovery, Nudjum Ali Khan was dispatched to Dhely to bring down one of the confined princes to succeed him. He fixed upon Rooshun Akhter, the son of Jehaun Shaw, son of Shaw Aulum, eldest surviving son of Aurungzebe, who, with his mother, had been confined since the death of his father and accession of Jehaundar Shaw. Ruffeh
ad

ad Dowlah died before his arrival, after a reign of only three months. This event was kept secret for some days in the camp, to prevent disorder, till the arrival of ^aRooshun Akhter; when the royal corpse was sent in great funeral pomp to Dhely, where it was interred in the mausoleum of Koottub ad Dien, near his brother and predecessor Abou Berkaut.

^a Of brilliant star.

MAHUMMUD SHAW.

ROOSHUN Akhter arrived in the camp at Futtehpoore on the eleventh of Zeekaud; and on the fifteenth of the same month, about eight in the morning, being the selected fortunate hour, added splendour to the throne of Hindoostan by his auspicious accession. He took the title of 'Abou Futteh, Naffir ad Dien Mahummud Shaw. He was at this time in his seventeenth year. Navob Koodfia, his mother, followed him from Dhely, and being a woman of great judgment and good sense, did not neglect a regard to the circumstances of the times, but devoted her attention to acquire the confidence of the brothers in all affairs. The dependants of her late husband Jehaun Shaw would have gone to meet her, but she forbad them, and commanded that no one should approach the door of her apartments to present offerings, being resolved to remove every cause of jealousy from the syeds. * Fifteen thousand rupees per mensem were allotted for the expenses of her household. The emperor was surrounded by the dependants of the vizier and ameer al amra, without whose assent he did not even move from the camp to take the air; and by the instruction of his mother, he studied wholly the pleasure of his ministers, who conducted the affairs of the empire with absolute sway.

As the brothers were not satisfied with the conduct of Jubelch Ram Naggir, governor of Aleabad, who had shewn them
disrespect,

* Father of victory, champion of religion.

* About fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

disrespect, the ameer al amra prepared to march to that quarter, but suddenly received intelligence of his death, upon which he imprudently observed, It was to be regretted that his head had not been seen by the people on the point of a spear. This speech coming to the ears of Gheerdhir, nephew to the deceased, he resolved not to submit to the authority of the syeds, collected troops, and assumed independance in his province. Upon this, the ameer al amra moved the royal camp towards Agra, ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Jumna, and, giving out that he should soon follow with the emperor, detached some troops against the rebel. About this time Meer Jumlah was appointed suddur al suddoor; but the powers of this office, as of every other, were controuled by Ruttun Chund; infomuch that he even constituted the judges of the Mahummedan law in the provinces. It is said, that one day, taking some persons to be introduced as cauzees to Koottub al Moolk, the vizier, laughing, observed, that he appointed mussulmaun divines, though a Hindoo; upon which one of his companions wittily remarked, that the raja, having happily settled his temporal concerns, had turned his attention to spiritual affairs.

Gheerdhir, alarmed at the threatened march of the ameer al amra, sent petitions to court, offering to evacuate the fort of Aleabad, if the ministers would send Raja Ruttun Chund to assure him of their friendship, and appoint him to another government. His request was complied with, and the soubahdary of Oude was conferred upon him, with promotion to a higher rank. This indulgence was considered as a proof of weakness in the ministers by the provincial governors, who now began to relax in their obedience. It was also rumoured abroad, that the brothers had differed concerning the division of plunder in the citadel of Agra, which occasioned mistrust and jealousy among their dependants.

Nizam al Moolk, who had been appointed soubahdar of Malwa, had by his vigour and abilities restored that province to a flourishing situation; but the reputation he acquired rendered him an object of jealousy to the brothers, who wished to remove him to another quarter, less favourable to his interest than the frontier of Dekkan, where he had great influence with the Mharattas. They offered him the choice of four other soubahs, under pretence that the ameer al amra wished to reside in Malwa, as from its vicinity he could better watch the affairs of his government of Dekkan; but Nizam al Moolk, not wishing to quit his post, excused himself, and prepared to resist the demand by adding to his force. It is said also, that he had the boldness to conclude a letter to the vizier with this verse: "I am not ungrateful; I can swear with truth; "I am not like you, I can swear with truth." Upon reading this, the syeds were enraged, and sending for the agent of Nizam al Moolk, imprudently treated him with insult, and spoke of his employer in opprobrious language.

Nizam al Moolk, upon information of the behaviour of the syeds, resolved to throw off his obedience to their authority, and seek an independant power in Dekkan. To this he looked with greater hopes of success, as Mahummud Ameen, and other Tooraunee nobles at court, had assured him they were weary of the pride and haughtiness of the usurpers, and would try every means to ruin them, which would easily be effected if they could be separated, and most probably his invading Dekkan would draw the ameer al amra to that quarter. They sent him also a private note from the emperor, expressing his encouragement of any plan to extricate him from the hands of the vizier and ameer al amra, and appointing him to the nizamiut of all Dekkan. Nizam al Moolk began his march from Malwa; and intelligence of it soon reached the
20. brothers, who dispatched Dillawer Ali Khan at the head of a considerable army in pursuit. About this time advices were received
of

of the success of Abd al Summud Khan, soubahdar of Lahore, against the rebellious Afghauns, who had raised a dangerous insurrection in that province.

Nizam al Moolk, having crossed the Nerbudda, prevailed on the governor of ^a Afere to put him in possession of that very important fortress, for a large sum of money; and he was equally fortunate in obtaining the citadel of Boorahanpore on the same terms. He was also joined by his relation Eiwuz Khan, soubahdar of Berar, a general of reputation, and his whole army. Runna, a Mharatta chief inimical to Raja Sahoo, entered his service with two thousand horse, and many zemindars flocked to his standard; as did also Anwer Khan, governor of Boorahanpore. At this time the mother of Syef ad Dien Khan, a near relation of the ameer al amra, who was on the road to Boorahanpore, fearful of ill usage, sent her jewels to Nizam al Moolk, who would not accept them; but treated her messenger respectfully, and gave her an escort of two hundred horse to conduct her to the army of Dillawer Ali Khan; which action procured him great credit. The ameer al amra, receiving advice of his rapid progress, prepared to march in person against him, though Raja Ruttun Chund and other friends advised peace, and that he should yield the soubahdary of Dekkan to him, as a favour from the emperor. About this time advice arrived of a dangerous tumult having happened in Kashmeer, between the mussulmauns and Hindoos, owing to some religious disputes, in which the greatest cruelties were committed on both sides.

This disagreeable intelligence was quickly followed by some, still more unwelcome to the brothers, of the defeat and death of Dillawer Ali Khan, with little loss to Nizam al Moolk, who was marching rapidly towards Aurungabad. Koottub al Moolk and the

^a Once the capital of the kingdom of Khandeshe, reduced by Akber. It is now in possession of Sindia, a Mharatta chief.

the ameer al amra now became irresolute, and distracted in their councils; one time giving out that they would both march with the emperor to Dekkan; at another, resolving to offer terms; and then again determined on war. The ameer al amra would have taken off Mahummud Ameen Khan, whom he suspected of treachery, but this the vizier would not allow. Amid these alarms, on Friday the twenty second of Ramzaun, occurred at Agra a dreadful earthquake. It continued at intervals for many days, during which numerous buildings were thrown down, and many people killed. It was accompanied with a rumbling noise in the earth, that filled the hearts of men with fear, and the superstitious regarded it as the forerunner of downfall to the ministers, who also were not unaffected with this belief.

In the month of Zeekaud it was resolved, that the emperor, with Koottub al Moolk, should march to Dhely, and the ameer al amra to Dekkan; but this plan was delayed, owing to the jealousies which the latter had of the Tooraunee nobles, particularly Mahummud Ameen Khan; who, suspecting treachery, had fortified himself in his quarters; but this obstacle was at length overcome, and a new treaty of friendship concluded.

The fugitives, to the amount of some thousands, who had escaped from the field on the defeat of Dillawer Ali Khan, joined themselves with Aulum Ali Khan at Aurungabad, who had marched from that city with an army of five and twenty thousand horse to oppose Nizam al Moolk. Twelve thousand of this force were Mharattas, whom he detached to harass the enemy's army, by laying waste the country, and cutting off his supplies. Nizam al Moolk, having sent his heavy baggage and women to Asere, began his march from Boorahanpore, crossed the Poorna with great expedition, and pitched his camp at Ballapore, where he resolved to wait and give battle. He was now equally successful as before;

Aulum

Aulum Ali Khan was defeated and slain, and his death left the nizam without a rival in Dekkan.

The grief and disorder which the intelligence of this misfortune occasioned to the brothers, is not to be expressed, especially the ameer al amra, whose wives and family were in Dekkan; but he was relieved shortly from his fears for their safety. The governor of Dowlutabad, though he had suffered great injuries from him, had the generosity to admit them into the fortress, where he shewed them attention and respect. News arrived that Mubariz Khan, governor of Hyderabad, had joined Nizam al Moolk with seven thousand horse.

After much deliberation, it was agreed that Koottub al Moolk should remain at Dhely, and the ameer al amra move with the emperor to Dekkan; accordingly the former, having taken leave, proceeded towards the capital, and the imperial army pursued the route to Dekkan.

The usurpations of the fyeds had long been regarded with disgust by the nobility, who in general wished their destruction. Mahummud Ameen Khan, who conversed in the Turkish language with the emperor, had gained his assent to the plans of Nizam al Moolk, and had resolved if possible to procure the assassination of the ameer al amra. He communicated his intentions to ^a Saaudut Khan, the sojedaur of Biauna, and Hyder Khan. It was agreed to cast lots who should strike the blow, and the chance fell upon the latter. On the fourth or fifth day's march from Agra, just as the emperor had entered his tents, Mahummud Ameen Khan, pretending illness, took a sudden leave, and communicated the plot to Hyder Koolli Khan, commander of the royal artillery, who agreed

A. D. 1720.

^a Afterwards navob of Oude, and great grandfather to the present vizier, Asoph ad Dowlah.

agreed to support him with all his force. He had before gained over several other chiefs to assist in defending the emperor and his friends, should the followers of the ameer al amra rise to revenge his assassination.

The ameer al amra, having conducted the emperor to his tents, had taken leave, and was proceeding to his own quarter in a palanquin. He had reached the gate of the kullaul bar, when Hyder Khan appeared, holding a petition, and crying aloud for justice on Mahummud Ameen Khan. The attendants would have driven him away, but the ameer al amra commanded them to let him approach, which he did, and presented the paper. While he was engaged in reading it, Hyder Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his side. The ameer al amra struck the assassin a violent blow with his foot, at the same instant crying out, "Put the emperor to death." The shock of his motion overset the palanquin, and he fell dead on the ground. A hundred swords were drawn in an instant, and the daring assassin was cut in pieces; but a band of Moguls who had been placed ready by Mahummud Ameen Khan, now approaching, dispersed the attendants, and, cutting off the head of the ameer al amra, carried it to the emperor.

Ghyrut Khan, nephew to the deceased, resolved to revenge his death; and collecting what troops he could in the confusion, marched towards the emperor's encampment; but Mahummud Ameen Khan, Saadut Khan, and other nobles, had placed Mahummud Shaw upon an elephant at the head of their forces, and drawn out the royal artillery. A smart skirmish however ensued, in which Ghyrut Khan being killed, the dependants of the ameer al amra fell into confusion, and were soon dispersed. His tents were given up to the plunder of the camp followers, who in an instant

* An enclosure of network round the royal tents.

instant levelled them with the ground, set them on fire, and seized upon the riches they contained.

After this victory, Hyder Koalli Khan sent offers of pardon and encouragement to Mohukkum Sing, dewan to the ameer al amra, which he accepted. Ruttun Chund had the same from Mahummud Ameen Khan; but fearful for his life, he wrote a note to inform Koottub al Moolk of what had happened, and then trying to make his escape, was seized by the populace, who hated him for his pride and cruelty. After being severely beaten, he was carried to Mahummud Ameen Khan, and put in confinement. Several other dependants also suffered, and many joined the emperor's party on assurances of protection. Mahummud Ameen Khan was now appointed vizier, with the title of ^a Eatimaud ad Dowlah; and Khan Dowraun ameer al amra, with the title of ^b Sumsam ad Dowlah. Their relations and dependants were advanced to honours and high stations; and all who had assisted in the defence of the emperor were rewarded by the royal favour. Eatimaud ad Dowlah sent off the bodies of the ameer al amra, Ghyrut Khan, and others, his relations slain in the skirmish, in great funeral pomp, to be interred at Ajmere in the tomb of their ancestors. How forcible do the words of the poet appear, when we reflect upon the above events! "This world, my son, is not
 " eternal, therefore expect not constancy from its smiles; even the
 " power of Solomon passed away. Happy is he who leaves behind
 " him the reputation of justice and mercy." These qualities were fully possessed by the ameer al amra. His conduct to Ferokhsere and his favourites, was from the necessity of self-preservation; and who will not guard his own life and honour at the expense of those who seek to destroy them? We have never heard of any statesman willingly resigning them, even among the chosen of God and
 VOL: II. Z the

^a Reliance of the state.

^b Sword of the state.

the prophets. How could such eminent personages as Koottub al Moolk and the ameer al amra, submit their lives and honours to Ferokhsere, after the important services they had yielded him, to raise the consequence of such wretched favourites as Meer Jumlah and Rukkun ad Dowlah, who were infamous for their vices?

Koottub al Moolk was arrived within forty coss of Dhely when a camel courier brought him intelligence of his brother's assassination, in a confused note from Ruttun Chund. His eyes were drowned in sorrow, and life to him now appeared irksome. Seeing, however, no remedy but patience, he resolved to proceed to Dhely without delay. Some of his friends advised him to march immediately against the emperor, who probably was yet but weak, and not joined by the troops of the ameer al amra; but he refused this counsel, thinking it hazardous to oppose Mahummud Shaw, unless supported by a rival from the descendants of Timur. He thought it most prudent to return to the capital, set another prince on the throne, strengthen his interest by making friends among the old nobles resident in the city, and collecting more troops. He accordingly proceeded by forced marches, but in such disorder, that the villagers and banditti plundered his baggage, and such persons as could not keep up with his main body. One day, the officer who guarded his advanced tents was cut to pieces with his escort, and a considerable caravan bringing supplies was plundered in a village, only three miles from his army. The farmers turned out the managers of the fyeds' jaghires, and possessed themselves of their rents and effects. Koottub al Moolk had sent an express to his brother Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Dhely, commanding him to place one of the confined princes on the throne, and endeavour to preserve quiet in the city by contradicting the report of the assassination, and to levy troops. Nudjum ad Dien, upon receipt of the order, gave out that Eatimaud ad Dowlah was killed, and sent a force to surround his house, and keep his family prisoners;

prisoners; but they found it well guarded by trusty dependants, who would not submit to injury. Notwithstanding his affliction, Nudjum ad Dien made the usual procession on the ^aeed of sacrifice, and upon his return from it, sent to offer the throne to the sons of Jehaundar Shaw, but neither would accept it. He did the same to sultan Nekoseer, but he declined it; when the offer was embraced by sultan Ibrahim, son of Ruffeh al Kudder, and grandson of Shaw Aulum.

On the eleventh of Zeehudje, sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne with the usual ceremonies. He was visited on the second day after by Koottub al Moolk, who prevailed on the nobility at the capital to accept offices under him, and advanced them large sums of money to levy troops. He entertained every person who could bring a horse and arms, at ^beighty rupees per month, without distinction of good or bad, which however occasioned much disgust to his veterans and those who were well mounted. In a few days he had a promiscuous army of eighty thousand horse, but the greater part ill provided; and it is said, he advanced more than a ^ccorore of rupees on this occasion. Many of the nobles of Ferokhsere's reign were employed, and among them Rukkun ad Dowlah. They received his money, and deserted him almost immediately.

On the seventeenth of the month Koottub al Moolk accompanied sultan Ibrahim, in as great pomp as the shortness of preparation would allow, from Dhely, and pitched his camp near the ^dEedgaeh not far from the city. Here he was joined by Gholaum Ali Khan and two other chiefs, who had escaped from the emperor's camp. As it was reported that Mahummud Shaw was advancing to the capital

Z 2

^a A festival in commemoration of Abraham's offering his son.

^b About ten pounds sterling.

^c A million sterling.

^d Place of worship on the eeds or festivals.

capital by the way of Raajepootana, Koottub al Moolk made his third day's halt at the tomb of Koottub ad Dien ; but having intelligence of an alteration in the royal route, he moved to Feridabad. He was joined daily by numerous bands of syeds from Barreh, several Afghaun chiefs and principal zemindars, also by many dependants of his deceased brother, who deserted Mahummud Shaw after having received sums of money in advance and other favours. Chooramun, raja of the Jauts, came to offer his services, and presented three elephants and several camels, which he had plundered from the imperial army. On the ninth of Mohirram, Mahummud Shaw marched from Shawpore, where he had waited several days in hopes of being joined by Abd al Summud Khan and Maharaja Jey Sing, but they did not arrive. The latter sent his dewan with four thousand horse ; and Mahummud Khan Bungush, with other Rohilla chiefs and their dependants, joined the royal army.

On the ninth and tenth both armies moved in order of battle, but did not come to action, though several skirmishes happened between detached parties, and Chooramun attempted, but in vain, to capture the royal magazine and the bullocks of the artillery then grazing near the camp. Hyder Koolli Khan, *meer atush, commanded Mahummud Shaw's advanced line, Saaudut Khan and Mahummud Khan Bungush the right, and Sumsam ad Dowlah the left wing. Eatimaud ad Dowlah took post with the emperor in the center. Meer Jumlah was entrusted with the baggage of the army, and Affud Ali Khan protected the haram. The artillery was stationed in the front of the army, and behind it the war elephants in strong armour, with massy chains to wield with their trunks.

Koottub al Moolk, having marched from Houssunpore, pitched his camp within three cofs of the imperial army ; and on the twelfth formed his order of battle, but in much confusion, owing

* Commander of artillery.

to the irregular dispositions of the fyeds of Barreh, all eager for pre-eminence. At length Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan took the command of the advanced line, Koottub al Moolk with sultan Ibrahim took post in the center, but there was no regular commanders of the wings. The night of the thirteenth was passed under arms; and in the morning, Mahummud Shaw having commanded the head of Ruttun Chund to be struck off and thrown under his elephant, as a lucky omen, advanced to give battle. A cannonade was kept up the whole day, when towards evening the advanced line of the rebels was put to flight and the imperialists took possession of their ground, but did not push this advantage farther. Koottub al Moolk at sunset ordered a small tent to be pitched for his repose. Both armies remained under arms, and the imperial artillery continued firing all night; which so incommoded the enemy, that many chiefs with their followers fled, and in the morning not more than seventeen out of an hundred thousand horse remained with Koottub al Moolk. He however was yet undaunted, and at daylight charged the imperialists. A bloody and long conflict ensued, in which the fortune of Mahummud Shaw prevailed. Koottub al Moolk, deserted by all but a few personal attendants, dismounted from his elephant and fought bravely on foot; when he was taken prisoner with his brother Nudjum ad Dien, and carried to the emperor. The victory was now complete, and the baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the conquerors. Sultan Ibrahim, who had fled from the field, was taken, and remanded to confinement. The news of the victory reached Dhely in the evening of the fourteenth, and occasioned joy or grief, according to the hopes and fears of different interests. The wellwishers of the emperor rejoiced, and those of Koottub al Moolk were overwhelmed with sorrow. Of the latter, several escaped with their effects, and others were thrown into prison by the cutwal of the city. His women, covering their afflictions with the veil of patience, would not set their feet without the citadel of modesty; but Abdoolla Khan

Khan Kaufee, who had been left to protect them, extended the hand of rapine upon their effects, and fled with a great booty to his own country, rendering his name odious and accursed to posterity. Gholam Ali Khan, nephew to Koottub al Moolk, and his adopted son, Nujjabut Ali Khan, put on disguises, hoping to escape, but they were stopped, and taken prisoners on the road.

Mahumud Shaw, after this decisive and important victory, rewarded the services of his nobility and army according to their merits, and prepared to march to Dhely. On the nineteenth he encamped near the tomb of the holy *Nizam ad Dien, where he paid his devotions, and conferred his bounties on the attendants and pilgrims. Here he waited two days for the fortunate instant to make his entry into the capital. Hyder Kooli Khan was promoted to the rank of seven thousand, and entrusted with the care of Koottub al Moolk. Saadut Khan was honoured with the ^b mach maurattib, and title of Bahadur Jung. On the twenty second the emperor entered the city in great pomp, upon an elephant most sumptuously caparisoned, and attended by several others in housings of embroidery and cloth of gold. Several travelling thrones and other carriages, richly ornamented with precious stones, gold, and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and those of the nobility were all newly clothed, and increased the splendour of the cavalcade. Numbers of beautiful horses, in furniture set with jewels and enamelled, were led in the procession, which was splendid beyond all description. Money was scattered in profusion to the populace, whose acclamations at the restoration of the imperial authority reached the heavens. The emperor arrived in the palace about eight o'clock, where his mother, Koodia Begum, and the other princesses first made their offerings,

* A celebrated saint

^b Certain insignia, the principal of which is a fish.

offerings, waving round his head golden basons filled with jewels, and gold and silver coins, which were afterwards distributed to the poor. After this ceremony, the nobility and people were permitted to present the nuzzers and gifts of congratulation. The empire now once more enjoyed perfect peace, and the fairest prospect appeared of a long and glorious reign to Mahummud Shaw.

On the last day of the month, Abd al Summud Khan came to pay his respects at court from his government of Lahore, and was received with great favour; also Maharaja Jey Sing, and Raja Gheerdhir, soubahdar of Oude; at the intercession of the former of whom the religious capitation tax was again repealed, much to the satisfaction of the Hindoos. An address of congratulation, accompanied by an offering, arrived from Nizam al Moolk, who was confirmed in the government of Dekkan. A petition, with a large sum of money, was received from Moorshud Koolli Khan, navob of Bengal, who was continued in that soubahdary. Zakariah Khan was appointed governor of Kashmeer. On the twenty second of Rubbi al Awul, the emperor marched from Dhely on a hunting excursion, on which he received intelligence of the dangerous illness of Eatimad ad Dowlah. This nobleman died on the twenty ninth, after having enjoyed the office of vizier only twenty two days; nor was he regretted by the people, to whom he was oppressive. Intending to enlarge his palace, he had dispossessed seven hundred families in his neighbourhood of their habitations; which, however, were restored upon his decease by his son Kummir ad Dien Khan. The immense wealth Eatimad ad Dowlah had acquired, from the confiscations and plunder of the fyeds and their dependants, was given up by the emperor to his heirs. This contradicts the imputation of avarice, too generally laid against Mahummud Shaw; for at this period the royal treasury was very low, the late ministers having spoiled it of vast sums, and even coined into money the golden and silver rails of the hall of audience. It was the general
usage

usage of the princes of the house of Timur, to seize the effects of their deceased courtiers ; and they considered it as generous to leave a small part to the heirs. In the case of Eatimaud ad Dowlah, whose wealth had in fact been plundered from the palace by the syeds, the emperor had a right to resume possession ; but, in general, the privilege of confiscation is tyrannical, and disgraceful to the royal family ; a custom, which no judgment or law can vindicate. How unjust, that a person who had spent his whole life, and perhaps sacrificed it, in the service of his king, should, on his death-bed, see his wives and children employed in dispersing and concealing his property, instead of comforting and alleviating his cares by sympathy and sorrow !

The death of Eatimaud ad Dowlah was attributed, by the common people, to the effect of divine judgment, for his conduct to a celebrated devotée. This man, named Nummood, pretended a mission from heaven to correct the abuses which had crept into the musliumaun religion ; and his success in making votaries was so great, that the ministers were apprehensive of a dangerous insurrection. Eatimaud ad Dowlah, during his illness, sent guards to seize his person ; but the impostor had collected his disciples, and resolved to defend himself ; at the same time denouncing the vengeance of God against the vizier. The guards, either alarmed by superstition, or the numbers of his followers, returned without attempting to arrest him ; and Eatimaud ad Dowlah being just then seized with the agonies of death, his women, overcome with dread, were weak enough to send a messenger, with a large sum of money, to appease the wrath of Nummood, and to request his prayers for the recovery of their lord. The impostor, on receiving the account of his situation, cried aloud to his companions that he had struck an arrow into the heart of an infidel, who would not recover : and Eatimaud ad Dowlah dying, the belief of Nummood's

mood's apostleship was confirmed among the vulgar more than ever. He continued in high reputation during his life, but upon his death, his sons quarrelling with a confidential servant, he disclosed the scheme of the imposture, and the heresy in great measure ceased.

On the twenty second of Rubbi al Saunee, Einaiut Oollah Khan was appointed to exercise the functions of vizier, but without the title; the emperor wishing to confer the post upon Nizam al Moolk, who was detained in Dekkan by some commotions in that country.

The inhabitants of Ajmere and Guzarat having sent complaints to court of the oppressive conduct of the deputies of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, their governor, the emperor removed him from his employments, and appointed Hyder Koolli Khan to the former, and Muzzuffir Ali Khan to the latter province. Ajeet Sing, upon intelligence of his removal, rose in rebellion, and took possession of the town of Ajmere. Here, having assembled the chief officers of the province, he produced before them the imperial firmaun, under the signature of Mahummud Shaw, constituting him soubahdar of Guzarat and Ajmere during life, which had been imprudently given him by the emperor's mother, on his accession to the throne, in order to ensure his fidelity, should the syeds have meditated the deposal of Mahummud Shaw. He dispatched a copy of this, with a petition, to the presence, representing his removal as a breach of the royal promise, and a disgrace, to resist which he would hazard his life; but that if his majesty would leave him Ajmere, he would willingly resign Guzarat, and return to his duty. Upon receipt of the petition, a council was held, and Sumfam ad Dowlah, ameer al amra, considering the disordered state of the imperial finances, advised that Ajeet Sing should be indulged with the province of Guzarat, and Ajmere be entrusted to a mussulmaun nobleman, as it was nearer the capital, and a place of great veneration to the faithful. The emperor and Hyder

VOL. II. A a Koolli

Koalli Khan were for punishing the rebel, and Sazudut Khan was summoned from Agra to command an army against him. On his arrival, preparations were set on foot, but owing to the disagreements of the nobles at court, who were unwilling to be under his command, and the indolence of the emperor, they went on but slowly. In the mean time, intelligence arrived that Muzzuffir Ali Khan, soubahdar of Ajmere, who, unable to proceed to the province with his small force, had halted till he should be joined by Sazudut Khan, had been plundered by his troops, long in arrear, was obliged to fly, and had returned the commission of his government to the presence. Accounts were also received that two of Ajeet Sing's sons had plundered several of the royal towns, and that the rich city of *Narnoul had been ravaged by their zemindars.

Sumfam ad Dowlah now resolved to take upon himself the correction of Ajeet Sing, and sent his advanced tents to be pitched without the city, and Hyder Koalli Khan swore to assist him with all his force; but his ardour soon cooled, on reflection that absence from court might prove hurtful to his interest with the emperor. He advised Mahummud Shaw to offer terms to Ajeet Sing, observing, that in the present state of the army victory was doubtful, and even should the rebel be defeated, he would retire to the mountains, and prolong the war, which would be insupportable from the lowness of the royal treasury. The emperor, displeased at this advice, offered the command to Kummir ad Dien Khan, who would not accept it, but upon condition of Koottub al Moolk's being released and detached with him, which was not complied with. Sumfam ad Dowlah, disgusted at the neglect of his counsel, staid from court; upon which Mahummud Shaw made some concessions, and put himself under his guidance. He pacified Ajeet Sing by promises and indulgence. The regulation of affairs was deferred till the arrival of Nizam al Moolk, whom the emperor had

* Only one hundred miles from Dhely.

had invited to court to take upon him the office of vizier. Intelligence was received of an insurrection of Afghauns in ^a Peshawir, who after an obstinate engagement had defeated and taken prisoner Khanehzaud Khan, the son of Sirbullund Khan, governor of the province.

In the beginning of this year the emperor was married to Mallakkeh Zummauneh, daughter of Ferokhsere, and the nuptials were celebrated with great splendour and rejoicings. A. H. 1135. A. D. 1722.

Nizam al Moolk, having settled the affairs of government in Dekkan, obeyed the emperor's summons to court, and was invested with the robes of the vizarut. He earnestly advised the emperor to dedicate his time to the administration of public affairs; but Mahummud Shaw was too much addicted to pleasure to hearken to it. Sumfam ad Dowlah, Kummir ad Dien Khan, and other noblemen, favourites of the emperor, and jealous of the influence of the new vizier, made it their business to divert the royal mind by dissipated amusements; till at length Nizam al Moolk, disgusted at the manners of the court, resigned the exercise of his office, under pretence of punishing Hyder Koolli Khan, who had rebelled in Guzarat, and obtained leave to march from Dhely. He left the capital after a few months stay, much to the satisfaction of Mahummud Shaw and his favourites, who regarded not the decline of the empire, while they were left to the enjoyments of luxury and indolence in the capital. A. H. 1136. A. D. 1723.

This year, the soubahdary of Agra was conferred upon Maharaja Jey Sing; who had now the satisfaction of reducing the fortrefs of Toone, against which he had spent so much time and money in the reign of Ferokhsere. Raja Gheerdhir was appointed governor of Malwa, and succeeded in the soubahdary of Oude by

A a 2

Saaudut

^a Dependant on the province of Cabul.

Saaudut Khan, now honoured with the title of 'Boorahan' al Moolk.

Nizam al Moolk having entered Guzarat, Hyder Koooli Khan finding himself unable to oppose him, pretended madness, and retreated with his followers to Dhely, where he remained some time in disgrace; but having requested to be sent against Raja Ajeet Sing, who still resisted the royal authority, he was taken into favour, and appointed to the government of Ajmere, where he behaved with great gallantry, and dispersed the rebels. Nizam al Moolk, after settling the affairs of Guzarat, left his uncle Hamid Khan as deputy in that province, and proceeding through Malwa, which government had been conferred upon him in room of Maharaja Jey Sing, to establish his authority in that country, returned to Dhely, but did not remain long. Finding the emperor immersed in pleasure, and surrounded by worthless favourites, negligent of affairs, and incapable of a grateful return to his important services, he resolved to repair to his government of Dekkan, where he could be independant. He accordingly left the capital after a short stay, under pretence of a hunting excursion, and hastened to his province. The emperor, alarmed at his sudden departure, dispatched a firmaun privately to Mubariz Khan, soubahdar of Hyderabad, commanding him to attack Nizam al Moolk, and promising him the government of Dekkan if he succeeded. Mubariz Khan obeyed, was defeated, and slain. Nizam al Moolk, after the victory, sent his head to court, with part of his spoils, and a petition congratulating his majesty on the defeat of a rebel. From this period the imperial authority was only nominal in Dekkan, Nizam al Moolk being in fact the sovereign, though ostensibly the viceroy of Mahummud Shaw, who received no tribute but the offerings customary at festivals and other particular occasions. The emperor removed him from the governments of

Malwa

Malwa and Guzarat, appointing Raja Gheerdhir again to the former, and Sirbullund Khan to the latter province.

Nizam al Moolk, in order to divert the attention of the royal arms from chastizing his rebellion, persuaded his uncle Hamid Khan, and the Mharatta chiefs Peelajee and Coantoojee, to raise commotions in Guzarat. Hamid Khan accordingly displaced the imperial officers and the managers of jaghires in the province. This fresh revolt occasioned much confusion at Dhely, and Mahummud Shaw was so enraged at the dissensions among his ministers, none of whom would accept the command of an army against the rebels, that he resolved to release Koottub al Moolk, and restore him to the vizarut; but was prevented from doing this by the sudden death of that nobleman, said to have been from poison, given by the contrivance of the persons jealous of the royal favour towards him. Upon this event, the emperor offered the province of Guzarat to Sirbullund Khan, who accepting it was supplied with a ^a corore of rupees from the royal treasury to raise troops; and at his request Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, brother to Koottub al Moolk, was released from his confinement and detached with him.

Sirbullund Khan for a time restored the royal authority in Guzarat; but though the Mharattas were unable to cope with him in a general engagement, they annually laid waste the country, which, from their depredations, did not afford sufficient revenue to pay the royal army; and Sirbullund Khan, not receiving supplies from the capital, was in the end obliged to disband part of his troops, and consent to pay a choute, or fourth part of the revenues, to the Mharattas, as the price of peace. From this period the throne of Dhely received no advantage from Guzarat, which by degrees fell wholly under the power of the Mharattas. The ameer al amra Sumfam ad Dowlah procured the removal of
Sirbullund

^a A million sterling.

Sirbullund Khan from his government, under pretence of having disgraced the emperor by submitting to the choute, and Abec Sing, the son of Raja Ajeet Sing, was appointed to succeed him; but, instead of opposing, he entered into closer union with the Mharattas. Sirbullund Khan, who made some opposition to his successor, was prevented from coming to court, and ordered, to retire to Agra.

When Nizam al Moolk saw the depraved policy of the court, the weakness of ministers, and their ill treatment of Sirbullund Khan, his wishes to excite the Mharattas to subdue the provinces of Hindoostan encreased. He persuaded Bajeceraow, the general of Raja Sahoo, to attempt the reduction of Malwa and Guzarat. Accordingly, Bajeceraow and other chiefs, with a numerous army, having marched against Raja Gheerdhir and the deputies of Raja Abec Sing Rhatoree, attacked both soubahs, laying waste many districts. Raja Gheerdhir was not destitute of courage. He opposed Bajeceraow, but, on account of the smallness of his force, applied for aids to the court; however, notwithstanding frequent petitions to the emperor and the ameer al amra, they had no effect; and he dying during the invasion, was succeeded by Dia Bahadur, his relation, who continued gallantly to resist the enemy. He wrote to court, that while he lived he would prevent the Mharattas from pursuing their conquests, but that if he fell, their attacks would penetrate the whole empire. These representations had no effect; and at length, Dia Bahadur fell in battle, when Mahummud Khan 13. Bungush was appointed soubahdar of Malwa; but from the repeated 30. incursions of the Mharattas, he had little power, and in the 32. year 1145 was superseded by Raja Jey Sing Sewai. From a similarity of religion he supported Bajeceraow, who, at his intercession with the ameer al amra, was appointed soubahdar of Malwa, and that province became in fact under the dominion of the Mharattas. Guzarat fell to them also from the neglect of Abec Sing, and much

much devastation occurred in those countries, to the great loss of the empire. The correction of such disorder could only proceed from the hands of the valiant and the wise; what then could be done by the base and dishonourable? The subtle fox cannot overcome the lion, nor is a wooden sword of service in the field of battle. Sumfah ad Dowlah had laid the defence of the empire and chastisement of rebels on the foundation of cunning and deceit, hoping by intrigue to subdue such strong enemies as Nizam al Moolk and Bajeeraow. As such schemes were ill-founded, like fireworks upon water, they were of no effect, and every plan he formed, became a cause of decline to the empire. The ministers growing neglectful, the power of the rebellious gained strength. The plain of contention was more extended, and the sources of ruin and disorder more open. At such a time, an emperor was wanting of resolution and firmness, who might have plucked out the weeds of rebellion with manly opposition by the roots, and generals, like Houffein Ali Khan and Zoolfeccar Jung, who would have thrown the cord upon the necks of the obstinate with the hand of valour.

When the Mharattas had reduced Malwa and Guzarat, without opposition from the court, they aspired to further conquests in the imperial territories; and, making daily encroachments, by degrees seized upon several districts of the soubahs of Aleabad and Agra. During these invasions, Mahummud Khan Bungush, soubahdar of Aleabad, having planned the reduction of the * Bondelas, of whom Raja Chutterfaul was chief, entered that country with an army, and took several places. Chutterfaul, observing the weakness of the imperial authority, applied for assistance to the Mharattas, promising them large sums of money and a share of his territories, as a recompense. Mahummud Khan, puffed up by his easy conquests, had kept only what force he judged necessary to secure

* Inhabitants of Bundelcund, a considerable territory in the provinces of Aleabad and Agra.

secure them, and dismissed the remainder; but as he was but little acquainted with the roads, Chutterfaul surrounded him suddenly with an army. The navob, unable to combat a superior force long in the field, took refuge in the fortress of Jeytghur, where he was closely blockaded by the enemy. His provisions were soon exhausted, and his followers reduced to eat their oxen, horses, asses, and even dogs. He asked aid of the court, but no one attended, till, at last, his son Caim Jung resolved to relieve him, and his wife sent her veil among the Afghauns, to excite them to the deliverance of her husband. The Afghauns collected, and contenting themselves with such pay as the begum of the navob could afford them, marched under the command of Caim Jung, and escorted Mahummud Khan in safety from Jeytghur to Aleabad. The imperial ministers, making a pretence of Mahummud Khan's ill success, removed him from the soubahdary of Aleabad, and appointed in his room Sirbullund Khan, who deputed his son Khanehzad Khan to command, himself residing at court, though he seldom visited the emperor, being disgusted with ill usage.

32. In the year 1145, the emperor being on a hunting excursion, received intelligence of the Mharattas plundering in the neighbourhood of Agra; upon which he marched towards them, but after a few days, the enemy retreating, he returned to Dhely.

In the following year, the Mharattas having extended their incursions into the province of Agra, and seized several districts appropriated to the support of the royal household, the ameer al amra prevailed on Mahummud Shaw to send an army against them, under the command of his brother Muzzuffir Khan. The Mharattas, according to custom, would not engage him in the field, but hovered round, and distressed him by cutting off provisions.

He

* This was to express the disgrace that would attend the tribe, if the honour of the chief was not supported by it.

He marched as far as Seronje in the province of Malwa, where he halted for some months; during which the enemy kept him in constant alarm, by sham attacks, and destroying his supplies. At length the order of return was issued, for which he had impatiently waited; and on the twentieth of Mohirrim, 1147, he arrived at court, and was honoured with a tassel of jewels for the turban. Upon his reaching Dhely, the object of his hopes, in safety, he offered up oblations and charities to the poor, and his followers gave thanksgivings for the welfare of such an exalted nobleman. His friends uttered loud praises of the great conduct shewn in the campaign, and set forth his return in safety as a prodigy. In this year died prince Ali Tibbar, son of Azim Shaw. A.D. 1734.

During this year also, the ameer al amra and vizier marched against the Mharattas, but returned to court without effecting any thing of importance. The enemy continued their plunders and encroachments every where, with great cruelties.

Arraroo, a zemindar of Korah, taking advantage of the weakness of the empire, had put to death his governor Jaun Nissar Khán, brother to the vizier's wife, and seized his family and treasures; upon which Azim Oollah Khan was sent to chastise him, but the zemindar took refuge in his woods, and eluded his pursuer, who, tired out, returned to Dhely, leaving his army under the command of Khowauzim Beg Khan. Arraroo, emboldened by the navob's retreat, attacked and slew the deputy; upon which the vizier applied for assistance to Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, soubahdar of Oude, for the reduction of the rebel. Boorahan al Moolk possessed great generosity and valour, and in the year 1148 marched against Arraroo in his way to Dhely. Arraroo on his approach resolved to oppose him; and having one day intelligence from spies that Boorahan al Moolk had just alighted at his tent, and that he had on a green vest, and was also easily known from the Vol. II. B b whiteneſs A.D. 1735.

whiteness and length of his beard, the rebel rushed suddenly from ambush with his followers. Boorahan al Moolk remounted his elephant, and drew up his army as well as the suddenness of attack would allow. He had however changed his dress, and wore a white vest; so that Arraroo mistaking for him Aboo Terraub Khan, a principal chief, who was habited in green, and had a long white beard, levelled his attack at him, and charging close to his elephant with some resolute followers, wounded him mortally with a spear. This occasioned much disorder; but Boorahan al Moolk bravely attacked the rebel in turn, who was pointed out to him by Doorjun Sing, a relation of his own, in the navob's service. Doorjun Sing also engaged Arraroo personally, and after a sharp conflict put him to death, upon which the rebels fled in disorder. Boorahan, having offered up thanks to God for his victory, returned to his tents, and sent Arraroo's head to the emperor. The skin of the body was flayed off, and sent stuffed with straw to the vizier. Having remained some days to regulate the affairs of the province of Korah, he left the command to his son in law Suffder Jung, and pursued his route to court, where he was received with great honours.

Soon after this, Eaudgar Khan, a dependant of the ameer al amra, was dispatched with the sunnuds of the foubahdaries of Guzarat and Malwa to Bajeeraow, hoping to effect his submission to the empire, through the mediation of Raja Jey Sing. This year died navob Rooshun ad Dowlah Zuffir Khan.

About this time the foubahdary of the province of Patna was taken from Fukhir ad Dowlah, and conferred upon Shujah ad Dowlah, the navob of Bengal, in addition to that government, and of the province of Orissa.

Shujah ad Dowlah was a native of Boorahanpore, and descended from the Turkish tribe of Afshar in Khorasfaun. During Aurungzebe's campaigns in Dekkan, he married the daughter of Jaffier Khan, soubahdar of Bengal, and accompanied his father in law to that province; but, not agreeing with her in disposition, he resided mostly at Cuttac, the capital of Orissa, of which he was governor. Shujah ad Dowlah was celebrated for his clemency, justice, and all good qualities. Zebe al Nissa, begum of Shujah ad Dowlah, from duty to her father and resentment at her husband's attachment to other women, remained with her son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at the capital of Moorsbudabad, which was founded by her father, Jaffier Khan, and named after his original title of Moorsbud Koollee Khan.

It was during the residence of Shujah ad Dowlah at Cuttac, that Aliverdi Khan, afterwards so famous as the usurper of Bengal, entered his service. His mother was distantly related to that nobleman. Her husband Mirza Mahummud was an officer in the service of the prince Azim Shaw, upon whose defeat and death, being greatly distressed, he was persuaded by his wife to seek the protection of her noble relation at Cuttac. Shujah ad Dowlah received him, with his two sons, Hajee Ahmed and Aliverdi, with kindness and favour among his dependants. Aliverdi, by his great qualities and important services, rose daily in the esteem of his patron; and Hajee Ahmed was also much distinguished. By degrees they became the chief managers of all the affairs of Shujah ad Dowlah; who, fond of pleasure, entrusted the province to their direction; nor was his confidence abused by the brothers.

As Jaffier Khan was much displeased at the conduct of his son in law, in his inconstancy to his wife, when he perceived himself advancing towards his end, he wished to be succeeded in the

government of the provinces by his grandson Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at that time * imperial dewan. For this purpose he exerted all his influence at the court of Dhely. Shujah ad Dowlah, learning his intentions, consulted upon disappointing his measures with the brothers; and by their advice sent agents to court to bribe the ministers to his views. He also secretly dispatched numbers of his best troops, under pretence of dismissing them his service, to Moorshudabad, to form a party in his favour. The rainy season advancing, and marching by land being very difficult, he took care to provide sufficient boats for his army, that he might move on the instant of occasion.

Accordingly, when advice came that Jaffier Khan could not survive more than a few days, he began his march, leaving Mahummud Nukkee, his son by a concubine, in the direction of affairs at Cuttac. When somewhat advanced, he received the accounts of the nabob's death, and a little farther on his march, the sunnuds, appointing him soubahdar of Bengal from Dhely. He quickly arrived by forced marches at Moorshudabad, which he entered without opposition, and seating himself on the musnud, in the chehal settoon, or hall of forty pillars, commanded the royal grants to be read, and the officers of state to acknowledge him as nabob. His son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, finding it in vain to struggle against the emperor's will and his father's power, was among the first to congratulate him upon his accession, and contented to remain in the office of dewan. Shujah ad Dowlah, having thus obtained his wishes, conducted the affairs of government with the advice of Aliverdi Khan, his brother Hajee Ahmed, Aulum Chund, his own dewan, now appointed roy royan, (who was among the Hindóos, truly worthy of confidence and power) and a few others, particularly Juggutt Seet Futteh Chund, whose wealth and credit as a merchant and banker exceeded millions; and

* Under the grant of this office the company now hold Bengal, &c.

and was never yet equalled by any. In the administration of justice he acted wholly from himself, and trusted to the representations of no one; but to the utmost of his abilities examined every case, and listened patiently to both parties, deciding agreeably to justice, without regard to rank or station. In the time of Jaffier Khan, the zemindars and renters had been oppressed with such grievances, as are too horrid to relate. Agreeably to the following verse of the poet Saadi; "Draw not thy precedents from evil institutions, for men will curse thee, with those who invented them." Shujah ad Dowlah upon his accession summoned them before him, and demanded how they would behave, if he should free them from their troubles. They, who had suffered severely from the tyranny of Jaffier Khan, swore solemnly to be faithful to his person, and just in their payments, according to the settlements of Juggutt Seet. Shujah ad Dowlah then distinguished them by khelauts and favours according to their ranks, and dismissed them with joyful hearts to their several districts. Bengal, which is called the paradise of regions, truly merited the appellation during the administration of Shujah ad Dowlah; and persons of all ranks, living in ease and safety, were loud in his praises, reposing under the shade of his prosperity. Not long after his accession, the government of the province of Bahar was added to that of Bengal, the deputation of which he entrusted to Aliverdi Khan, for whom, on this occasion, he procured the rank of five thousand and title of Mahabut Jung. The favourite acquired new credit in his management of Bahar, the revenues of which had been embezzled and kept back by rebellious zemindars and military commanders; all of whom he either reduced or put to death.

To preserve the connection of history, it is proper to return to the affairs of the imperial court, before we enter further on those of Bengal and the nabob Mahabut Jung, which shall be separately treated of.

9. The Mharattas, notwithstanding the appointment of Bajeeeraow
5. to the government of Malwa, and other favours shewn them by the emperor, still continuing their invasions, and advancing their armies nearer to the capital, the ameer al amra, Khan Dowraun, marched at length with a great army to the vicinity of Agra, and the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, with a powerful force towards Ajmere; but instead of acting on the offensive, wasted their time in idle negotiations for peace in standing camps, while the enemy plundered the country around them.

Boorahan al Moolk Saadut Khan, foubahdar of Oude, possessed great courage and ability, and was anxious to acquire fame, by expelling the Mharattas and redeeming the disgrace of the empire. He marched from his capital, attended by his son in law Suffder Jung, to the assistance of his friend the raja of Buddawer, a district of the province of Agra, who was closely pressed by the enemy in his principal fortress. He could not, however, arrive in time to relieve him. Raow Mulhar, a principal chief, after reducing the raja to his terms, crossed the Jumna, and wasted the country without mercy from Etawa to Mootee Baug, close to the city of Agra. At length, Boorahan al Moolk coming upon him by forced marches, defeated him with great slaughter. Three principal officers were taken prisoners, and Mulhar with great difficulty escaped. The fugitives in their panic mistaking the passage of the river Jumna, which they had forded, were drowned in great numbers; many were taken prisoners, and few regained the opposite shore. Mulhar with a few followers reached the camp of Bajeeeraow, near Gualior. Boorahan al Moolk issued orders for each of his soldiers to prepare four days provisions, and leave his baggage in the camp, intending to pursue the enemy to their own province, and redeem the honour of Hindoostan, when he received orders from the ameer al amra to halt till he could join him with his forces, to act with more effect

effect against the invaders. He unwillingly obeyed the mandate. This gave time to Bajeeraow to recover the panic of Mulhar's defeat; and he resolved to march towards Dhely, at that time almost empty of troops for its defence. So rapid was his progress, that he reached, and burned part of the suburbs of the capital, before any intelligence of his movement had gained the city. The emperor and inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation and despair. They were not relieved till after three days, (during which the Mharattas committed great devastations in the suburbs) by the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk and the armies of the vizier and ameer al amra. The enemy then retreated into Malwa, but were not pursued; and the ministers, to the disgrace and irreparable loss of the empire, persuaded Mahummud Shaw to purchase an uncertain peace, by consenting to the choute, or payment of a fourth part of the revenues to the Mharattas. The emperor would have waited for the concurrence of Nizam al Moolk, whom he had ordered to court, but the vizier and ameer al amra, jealous of his interference, concluded the treaty before his arrival. Nizam al Moolk attempted to recover the province of Malwa from the Mharattas; but after marching and defeating Bajeeraow, was obliged to return for the defence of Dhely against the Persian emperor, Nadir Shaw, who was advancing rapidly towards it.

Sumfam ad Dowlah Khan Dowraun, ameer al amra, possessed unbounded influence over the mind of the emperor, so that he directed all affairs as he thought proper, however impolitic or unadvisable; an instance of which has been already displayed in the compromise with the Mharattas. With the same imprudence, he neglected furnishing the usual supplies of money to the foubahdar of Cabul, for keeping up the stations in the passes and highways on the confines of the empire in that province; to which cause may be in great measure attributed the invasion of Nadir Shaw, who would never,

never, in all probability, have attempted his expedition, had he not heard of the defenceless state of the frontier. The grand cause of the Persian monarch's displeasure against Hindoostan, was the protection which the rebellious Afghauns had received in the empire, after their defeat by his arms when regent of Persia, though he had sent an ambassador to Dhely, requesting Mahummud Shaw that they might not find refuge in his dominions. Nadir Shaw, on his accession to the throne of Persia, sent also an ambassador from himself; but no answer was given to his letters, nor the minister permitted to return to his master. During the siege of Candahar, Nadir dispatched a nobleman of high rank, named Mahummud Khan, to the court of Dhely, to repeat his request concerning the fugitive Afghauns, and to express his disgust at the neglect shewn his embassies by the emperor of the Moguls. Mahummud Shaw and his ministers were at a loss what answer to return, and delayed the dismissal of the ambassador, in hopes that he might fail in the conquest of Candahar, and be obliged to retreat into Persia, when they would avoid the disgrace of acknowledging a usurper, as equal in rank with the sovereign of Hindoostan. These repeated flights, and the escape from his vengeance which the Afghauns found in the provinces of Hindoostan, determined Nadir Shaw, upon the fall of Candahar, to invade the empire. Accordingly, after that event, he marched to Cabul, the capital of the province of that name, which he took with little opposition, and remained in the vicinity near seven months; during which time his troops were employed in destroying the unfortunate Afghauns. It is probable he would not have advanced farther, had not a messenger and several horsemen, whom he had sent from Cabul to Dhely, been murdered on their route by the inhabitants of Jellalabad. Upon intelligence of this, he instantly marched against that city, slaughtered the people without mercy, and pursued his route to Peshawir, where Nasir Khan, the soubahdar of Cabul, resided, to whom

whom he sent a message, signifying that he should arrive on a certain day, when, if not opposed, he would spare the country, and receive him into favour. Nafir Khan, however, prepared for resistance, was defeated, and taken prisoner; but, after a few days imprisonment, was reinstated in his government on the part of the Persian monarch. From Peshawir, Nadir Shaw proceeded to Lahore, the soubahdar of which, Zekariah Khan, after some little opposition in the field, took refuge in the capital, which he shortly after surrendered, and was invested with the command of it by the conqueror; who, leaving some of his troops with him to ensure his fidelity, marched towards Dhely.

Mahummud Shaw and his ministers had long pretended to despise the arms of the victorious Nadir, and to disbelieve the daily accounts received of his advance. He had indeed taken the field, but in the space of two months marched only four days' journey from Dhely to the plain of Karnal; and here the fate of the empire was decided. The imperial army encamped on the banks of the canal of Alimerdan Khan, which supplied the city of Dhely with water. Entrenchments were thrown up, and numerous artillery linked together with maffy chains, was planted round the camp. Nadir Shaw, after the taking of Lahore, sent frequent messages to the Mogul camp, desiring the dismissal of his ambassadors, but was not obeyed; for what reason was never known. The ameer al amra placed great hopes in the valour of the Raajepootes; but neither Jey Sing, nor any of the great rajas obeyed the summons to the royal standard on this occasion, sending idle excuses for their delay in their several districts. Great dread and confusion prevailed in the camp; and so bad was the intelligence of the approach of the invaders, that it was not known how far Nadir had advanced, till some wounded fugitives, from a foraging party, proclaimed to the affrighted Moguls the certainty of the Persians being within a few miles of their entrenchments. A general apprehension and alarm took place, and the emperor waited

with the utmost anxiety for the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, the soubahdar of Oude, upon whose conduct and valour he had placed all his hopes of delivery, in the present important crisis of his empire. The wished for intelligence of his near approach at length arrived. On Tuesday the fifteenth of Zeekaud the ameer al amra went to meet Boorahan al Moolk, about a mile from the camp; and having brought him into the imperial presence, he was received with the highest distinction, and commanded to encamp near the division of the ameer al amra.

Boorahan al Moolk had just left the emperor, and repaired to his ground, when word was brought him that the Persians had attacked his baggage, and were committing great slaughter; upon which he immediately remounted his elephant, and sending intelligence of this event to the ameer al amra, with a request of his assistance, hastened against the enemy. The ameer al amra communicated the message to the emperor, who consulted Nizam al Moolk. He recommended that Boorahan al Moolk should be recalled within the entrenchments, as the day was far advanced, and his troops were fatigued with a long march, so that it would be most prudent to delay offering battle to the enemy till the morrow. Mahummud Shaw, approving this advice, communicated it to the ameer al amra; but he, attributing it to the neglect and indolence of the nizam, represented to the emperor, that as Boorahan al Moolk had advanced far from the lines, and was most probably already engaged with the enemy, not to assist him, and voluntarily to give up such a deserving nobleman to slaughter, would be against the dictates of policy, valour, and generosity; therefore, permitting others to act as they chose, he should hasten to support him. Having said this, he advanced from his camp with his light artillery, and such troops as were inclined to follow him. About a fourth part of the day remained, when he came within a short distance of Boorahan al Moolk. Nadir Shaw had
formed

formed his army in two divisions; one of which he left for the protection of his camp, and with the other advanced to the attack; subdividing it into three bodies. Two of these he detached to attack each of the ameers, and remained himself with the third, as a reserved line, to give assistance wherever it might be necessary. The Persians advanced with great fury, and in about half an hour the troops of Hindoostan were thrown into confusion with great slaughter. The ameer al amra was dangerously wounded, and most of his principal followers slain. His remaining attendants brought him back, almost dead with loss of blood, to the camp about nightfall; where, from a want of regularity and order, common in Hindoostan, his tents, baggage, and treasures had been wholly plundered by the soldiery and followers, on the supposition of his death; so that not a covering remained for his reception. At length his attendants procured a small tent, which they pitched for him. The vizier, nizam, and chief eunuchs of the emperor, came to condole with him on his situation, and learn the circumstances of his defeat. The dying minister, with a faint voice, said, “ I have
 “ done my duty, and finished my course. The future must be
 “ attended to by you: but I earnestly advise, that the emperor
 “ may not visit Nadir Shaw, or let him enter Dhely; and that
 “ you turn back, by any means, this great calamity from this
 “ spot.” Having said this, he became speechless, and continued so till he breathed his last, on the third day following.

Boorahan al Moolk, who had remained on the field of battle, being deprived of most of his troops by death, or flight, was at last quite surrounded by the Persians, and incapable of further resistance, when he was known by a young foldier, a native of the same city with himself, who calling to him by name, conjured him to save his own life by becoming his prisoner; at the same time running up to his elephant, and ascending the seat by the ropes of the ladder. Boorahan al Moolk gladly submitted himself

to the mercy of the enemy, who carried him before Nadir Shaw; and he was treated with great kindness and distinction.

For the three following days the Mogul camp presented a scene of confusion not to be described; but, what is extraordinary, it was not attacked by the Persians. Boorahan al Moolk, hearing reports of the death of the ameer al amra, and hoping to succeed him in office, had prevailed on Nadir Shaw to offer peace, and retreat from Hindoostan, on the payment of ^a two corores, of rupees, and receiving a visit from the emperor. He accordingly communicated these conditions to the emperor and Nizam al Moolk; who were rejoiced beyond measure, being before overwhelmed with dread and irresolution. Mahummud Shaw sent the nizam without delay to the Persian camp, where he was received with great favour by Nadir Shaw, who ratified the treaty; and he returned exulting to his master. The happy tidings of peace spread through the camp, and gave new life to the disheartened troops; but their joy was but of short duration. Nizam al Moolk, ambitious of the dignity of ameer al amra, requested it in return for his services in the negotiation, and the emperor immediately conferred it upon him, unmindful of the offence it would give to Boorahan al Moolk. The next day Mahummud Shaw went to visit the Persian monarch, agreeably to his request, and was met near the camp by Nadir's son, Nuffer Oollah Mirza, who alighted from his horse upon seeing him; when the emperor was set down in his travelling throne, and they embraced each other. The prince then remounted, and conducted him to his father; who received Mahummud Shaw standing at the entrance of his tent, embraced him with kindness, and leading him to his musnud, seated him by him. After some conversation, and the usual ceremonies of presents and entertainments, Mahummud Shaw returned to his own camp, where his presence gave heartfelt joy and assurances

that

^a Two millions sterling.

that peace was fully concluded. Such indeed was the opinion of the emperor and all his subjects; and just would it have been, but for the selfish disloyalty of a disgusted minister.

Boorahan al Moolk, learning that the office of ameer al amra had been given to another, burned with envy and disappointment. In the fury of his passions he resolved to be revenged upon the emperor and his rival. He observed to Nadir Shaw, that two corores of rupees were too small a composition for the wealth of Hindoostan; that he, as an individual, could pay so much; and that the removal of Nizam al Moolk, who alone had any ability to resist his arms, would make the Persian monarch master of the empire without a blow, when he might march to Dhely, only eighty miles distant, and possess himself of the immense treasures of the imperial palace and the wealthy inhabitants of the capital. The avarice of Nadir was awakened by this treacherous remonstrance, and he again invited Nizam al Moolk to his presence; who, relying upon the faith of treaties, hastened without suspicion to his camp, where he was commanded to remain, and to prevail upon Mahummud Shaw by letter to make him another visit. The nizam now represented to Nadir, that his behaviour was contrary to treaty; to which the Persian replied, that he did not mean to depart from his agreement or injure the person or empire of Mahummud Shaw, but must have another interview. The nizam wrote information of this to his master; who, not knowing where to look for support in the absence of his minister, came to the camp of Nadir Shaw, attended only by a few of his favourite domestics, forbidding many of the nobility, who were anxious to guard his person, to follow him. Upon his arrival he was ordered by the Persian monarch to remain in a tent pitched for his reception, and to send for his family, equipage, and the officers of his household; which he did. At the same time orders were sent to the Mogul camp to break up, and the soldiers to retire where they chose without molestation; but the

the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, was summoned to the presence. Boorahan al Moolk, and Thamasp Khan, a confidential nobleman of Nadir Shaw, were dispatched in front to Dhely, to receive the keys of that capital and the imperial palaces from the governor; after which the conqueror, with his royal captive, proceeded by easy marches to that city. The utmost dread and confusion prevailed in the Mogul army after the departure of Mahummud Shaw. Individuals consulted their own safety by flight, but were plundered or killed; many by the Persian marauders, and others by the husbandmen of the country, who, in time of trouble in Hindoostan, generally assume the occupation of robbery.

On the eighth of March, Nadir Shaw reached the gardens of Shalemar, and permitted Mahummud Shaw to proceed to his palace in the citadel of Dhely, with his family and domesticks. On the ninth the conqueror made a triumphant entry into the city with his army, which was encamped on the beach of the Jumna, under the palace; but Nadir Shaw took up his residence within it; the grand hall of audience, and several other apartments, being prepared for his reception. Coins had been struck at the imperial mint for this occasion, which were distributed to the people in the cavalcade, bearing this inscription in verse;

“ King over the kings of the world

“ Is Nadir, king of kings, and lord of periods.”

On the tenth died Boorahan al Moolk, of a cancer in his back, with which he had been long afflicted. It was reported, that he poisoned himself, from the pangs of conscience at his being the adviser of Nadir's advancing to Dhely; but the rumour was not true.

The strictest discipline had been observed by the Persians, and no person suffered from the victors the slightest outrage; when, on the night of the tenth, a fatal tumult arose, which involved the inhabitants of Dhely in ruin. It was suddenly rumoured, that Nadir Shaw was dead; by some, naturally, and by others, that he had been assassinated by a Calmuck woman in the haram, at the instigation of Mahummud Shaw. The Dhellians too easily credited what they wished to be true. They flew to arms, and massacred every Persian they met in the city; which, during the night, was a scene of confusion and horror. The nobles of Hindoostan, instead of attempting to quell the madness of the people, by proclaiming that Nadir was still alive and secure in the palace, which was garrisoned by his troops, remained inactive; and at some of their houses, the Persians, who resided in them to protect their properties, were treacherously murdered. Nadir Shaw, at the commencement of the tumult, sent out some officers to persuade the people of their error; but instead of being listened to, they were slaughtered. Seeing it in vain to moderate their fury, and not chusing to hazard his troops in the darkness of night and the close streets of the city, he resolved to let the storm spend itself, and wait for morning to take vengeance on its authors. About a thousand Persians were slain.

Early the next morning, Nadir Shaw issued from the palace, attended by his troops, and took post at the college of Rooshun ad Dowlah, situated in a principal street. From hence he dispatched bands of soldiers, commanding them to slaughter, without distinction of age or sex, the wretched inhabitants of Dhely, in every avenue where they might find a murdered Persian. His orders were obeyed with a savage readiness. The carnage lasted from sun-rise till mid-day. About eight thousand Indians, Moguls, and Afghauns, were massacred, and their houses plundered, by the Persians. To add to the horror of the scene, fires broke out

in several parts of the city. At twelve o'clock, Kummir ad Dien Khan prevailed on the conqueror to stop the massacre, when it ceased at once; so exact was the discipline of Nadir Shaw.

It is impossible to describe the misery of Dhely, during this and several following days, when the streets streamed with human blood, and the bodies of the dead obstructed the passages. These were at length piled together in heaps, without distinction of rank or religion, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses. Several noblemen were put to death by Nadir Shaw, for being accessory to the murder of Persians during the tumult, and among them a son in law of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

On the fourteenth, Nissar Mahummud Khan was dispatched to Oude, to demand from Suffder Jung the two corores of rupees, which had been promised by Boorahan al Moolk from his province. Nadir Shaw this day began his seizure of the imperial effects and treasure. Three corores and fifty lacs were found in the treasury. A corore and fifty lacs in plate; fifteen corores in jewels; the celebrated peacock throne, valued at one corore; and several other thrones of rich though smaller value, with the armory, estimated at eleven corores, were seized for his use; also five hundred elephants, a great number of horses, and the superb camp equipage of the emperor.

On the fifteenth, a treaty of peace was drawn up, stipulating, that the provinces eastward of the Sind should remain to the emperor

- * Three millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling.
- † One million five hundred thousand pounds.
- ‡ Fifteen millions sterling.
- § One million sterling.
- Eleven millions sterling.

emperor of Hindoostan, and those west of it be ceded to the crown of Persia. Thus, Cabul, Tatta, and part of Multaun, were wrested from the empire. Nussier Oollah Mirza, Nadir's son, was betrothed to the daughter of Yezdaun Buksh, son of prince Moraud, the son of the emperor Shaw Jehaun.

On the sixteenth, Jogul Kishoor, vaqueel of Bengal, was severely beaten with sticks, for not expediting the collection of the fine imposed on the city.

On the seventeenth, Nadir demanded from the vizier ^a two corores and twelve lacks of rupees; when the latter pleading inability, he commanded his dewan, Mujilifs Ram, to give in an account of the property of his master and of his own, threatening him with death if he should be guilty of concealment. Three daughters and seven ladies were seized from the haram of Muz-zuffir Khan, son in law to the vizier, and forced into the seraglio of Nadir Shaw.

On the eighteenth, a contribution was demanded from the nobles and servants of the court, bankers, merchants, and artizans, which was levied with the utmost severity. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, Sirbullund Khan, and other noblemen, were ordered to collect two corores and twelve lacks from the citizens, and pay it into the treasury in ten days, on pain of Nadir's displeasure.

On the nineteenth, the collectors of the fine began their exactions. Many persons put themselves to death to avoid punishment, their property being over-rated in the assessment. Among these were many officers of rank.

^a Two millions and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

On the twentieth, Nadir Shaw sent nine Persian horses, with seventy five trays of gold and silver brocade and scarlet cloth to Mahummud Shaw, and ordered Saad ad Dien Khan, meer atush, to put his own guards as before over the haram and offices of the emperor.

On the twenty first, Lootff Ali Khan, topjee bafha, or commander of artillery, by orders of Nadir Shaw, with twelve thousand men, marched out of the city, escorting the invaluable plunder of the capital to the gardens of Shalimar. On the twenty second Nadir Shaw's equipage, among which were all the magnificent tents taken from the palace, was pitched on the banks of the Jumna, before the Lahore gate, and a thousand Persians of rank, who had taken up their quarters in the palaces of Khan Dowraun, Saadulla Khan, &c. marched to Shalimar. Centinels were placed at the gates of the city, to prevent the Persians from carrying away any Hindoostan women. A type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city, from the cruelties of the collectors of the fine. It was, before, a general massacre; but now, the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Buffunt Roy, agent of the pensions, killed his family and himself. Khalik Ear Khan stabbed himself. Many took poison. The ^a venerable Cauzee al Kuzzaat was disgraced by stripes.

In the same manner all the servants of the crown, the merchants, bankers, and all suspected of having money, were harshly treated; and many, to avoid torment, courted death by their own hands. Sleep and rest forsook the city. On the twenty third, additions were made double and treble to the demands from the unfortunate officers of the court, and they were beaten and abused without mercy. Fojedaur Khan, governor of the environs of the city,

^a Chief judge.

city, from whom four lacks of rupees were demanded, of which he had paid one, escaped from his guards, and arrived at his fort of Ferokhnuggur, twenty five coss distant; where he continued, though Nadir Shaw invited him back by solemn promises. He pleaded old age and inability. The Jauts, under Buddun Sing, rose in arms in the vicinity of the city, and attacked the foraging parties of the Persians.

On the twenty fourth, a fire broke out in the imperial ^a *fersh khanch*, and destroyed effects amounting to a corore of rupees. Nadir Shaw now only waited for the payment of the fine, and the arrival of Nissar Mahummud Khan; after which he resolved to march immediately, and replace Mahummud Shaw on his throne.

At this time, abounding in disasters and calamity, the capital of the empire was become, from her various miseries and troubles, an emblem of the day of universal dissolution. First, from the general massacre, and the plunders and excesses of the Persian army, the conflagration, and other events, the inhabitants of all ranks were so alarmed, that like the affrighted animals of the desert, they sought refuge in the most private and concealed corners from further insult. Secondly, from the great scarcity of grain, ^b two seer of coarse rice were sold for a ^c rupee, and other necessaries in proportion. Thirdly, from a pestilential disorder; no morning passed that whole crowds in every street and lane did not die. Fourthly, from the exactions which occasioned a deliberate massacre. Unprincipled and unfeeling wretches, ever ready to use occasion, took the various quarters of the city in farm for the collection of the fine, at the original valuation. In place of ten, they extorted thirty and forty thousand rupees. The first sum was paid to the

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treasury,

^a Repository of tents, carpets, canopies, cushions, beds, &c.

^b About four pounds weight.

^c Two shillings and threepence nearly.

treasury, and the rest embezzled by these infernal wretches. It is probable, four or five corores were thus extorted from the miserable citizens, who, from the roads being blocked up, had not power to fly from these dreadful calamities, nor a hope of assistance. Danushmund Khan, one of the most learned men in Persia, and first physician to the conqueror, who had been before this, at the request of Boorahan al Moolk, honoured with the rank of three thousand, and now officiated as ambassador between the emperors; was, at the desire of Nadir Shaw, promoted to the rank of seven thousand and office of * khandamaun to Mahumud Shaw.

On the thirty first, Mahumud Ghazee ad Dien Khan, son of Nizam al Moolk, brought Meer Nizam ad Dien, fojedaur of the environs of the city, who had fled to Ferokhnuggur, to an interview with Nadir Shaw, to whom he presented an offering of a lack and fifty thousand rupees. He was graciously received, reestablished in his office, commanded to bring in supplies of grain, and invite the people to the deserted villages. The same day, at the request of Nizam al Moolk, orders were given by Nadir Shaw to his chief secretary to prepare edicts to the governors of the different provinces and the chiefs of Dekkan, commanding them to obey Mahumud Shaw. Fifteen were accordingly written, and committed to Nizam al Moolk.

On the first of April, Raja Mujilifs Ram, dewan to the vizier, having paid four lacks of rupees, stabbed himself to avoid the tortures ordered to be inflicted upon him to extort an additional sum. Roy Khoosha Chund and his son did the same. Sectaram, farmer of some royal lands and treasurer to the vizier, also eight or ten principal officers, after having given ten, eight, six, and four lacks of rupees, on more being demanded, made their escape from the city. Jogul Kishoor, Nagir Mul, Saadoolla Khan, and other principal vazeels,

* Steward of the household.

vaqueels, were beaten almost to death to extort money from them. People of all ranks deserted the city in crowds.

On the third, Nadir Shaw ordered a seizure of the effects of many capital merchants, who had not paid the sums demanded from them; in consequence of which rich goods were sold for a fourth and fifth part of their value.

On the fifth, Nadir Shaw's seals were taken off the imperial store-rooms and repositories, and those of Mahummud Shaw and Danushmund Khan affixed in their room. The same day firmatuns were sent from Nadir Shaw to Raja Jey Sing, Raja Abee Sing, Juggut Sing, and other rajas of Hindoostan; also to Raja Sahoo, Bajeeraow, and other Dekkan chiefs, with these contents:

“ Between us and our dear brother Mahummud Shaw, in con-
“ sideration of the regard and alliances of the two sovereignties, the
“ connections of regard and friendship have been renewed; so that
“ we may be esteemed as one soul in two bodies. Now our dear
“ brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive em-
“ pire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is
“ incumbent that ye, like your forefathers in former times, walk
“ in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as
“ they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timur. God
“ forbid it, but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears,
“ we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation.”

On the seventh of April, Nadir Shaw sent some valuable jewels, a firpeach, and bracelets, to Mahummud Shaw, with a message, that his march was fixed for the seventeenth of the month, and desiring, that on the morrow he would visit him, attended by the nobility with all the insignia of royalty, that he might give him some valuable advice, and take his leave. Accordingly, the next morning,

morning, being the eighth of April, Mahumud Shaw, with imperial pomp, attended by the court, on a travelling throne came out at the gate of the lion tower, and proceeded to the grand hall of audience, at the steps of which Nadir Shaw received him, and led him to a throne, after which all persons retired. The two monarchs remained in private for near an hour. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, and other great lords, were then admitted; to whom Nadir Shaw spoke nearly an hour, in terms of advice mingled with threats. Viands were then distributed, and dresses conferred upon them. Nadir Shaw presented jewels for a turban, with a sword set with jewels, to Mahumud Shaw, who then took leave, and retired to the lion tower in the same state as before.

On the eleventh, all the Persians quitted the city, except the body guards of Nadir Shaw, and encamped near Shalimar. The same evening Nuffer Oollah Mirza took leave of Mahumud Shaw. The foubah of Multaun and four mahals of Yemneenabad were, at Nadir Shaw's request, granted to Zekariah Khan, in room of the deceased Abd al Sumud Khan, in addition to the government of Punjaab.

On the fourteenth, Nadir Shaw began his retreat from Dhely, and proceeded by regular marches to his own empire: but as the events of his route but little concern the history of Hindoostan, they are not related in these pages. It is wonderful, but true, that the inhabitants of Dhely, at least the debauched, who were by far the more numerous part, regretted the departure of the Persians; and to this day, the excesses of their soldiery are topics of humour in the looser conversation of all ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindoostan at this time regarded only personal safety and personal gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centered wholly in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public
and

and private virtue, was universal in Hindoostan at the invasion of Nadir Shaw; nor have the people become more virtuous since, consequently, not more happy, nor more independant.

Upon the retreat of Nadir Shaw, the emperor made some changes among the great officers of state, and advanced two noblemen, who had shewn much attachment and fidelity to his person during the late troubles, to high rank. One of these was Ameer Khan, son of the principal favourite of the emperor Aurungzebe, of the same name, and the other Izaac Khan, of a middle rank about the court. Mahummud Shaw, jealous of the power of the Tooraun nobles, wished to remove the vizier Kummir ad Dien Khan from office. Ameer Khan was pitched upon to succeed him; but the emperor was fearful of executing his resolution till the return of Nizam al Moolk to Dekkan, as he was nearly related to the vizier, whose interest he espoused. This event at length occurred; the nizam being necessitated to repair to his government, where his son Nafir Jung had begun to assume independance. With this design, he had taken leave of the emperor, and pitched his encampment near the city, having obtained the deputation of his office of ameer al amra for his son Ghazee ad Dien Khan, who was also son in law to the vizier. Mahummud Shaw now privately bestowed the inkstand of the vizarut on Ameer Khan, who imprudently boasted of the honour he had received. Kummir ad Dien Khan hearing of this, advised with the nizam how to act, who recommended him to beg his dismissal from court, and accompany him to Dekkan. He accordingly repaired to the nizam's camp, from whence he dispatched a petition, observing to his majesty, that as he found a change towards him in the royal behaviour, from the arts of interested persons, though he had been guilty willingly of no crime, he begged permission to retire to Dekkan and resign his office. Mahummud Shaw, alarmed at the departure of the vizier, (for he possessed not steadiness

ness of resolution,) consulted with Ameer Khan and Izaac Khan what answer to return. The former advised compliance with the request, assuring him, that if he was appointed vizier, he would take such measures as should secure his majesty from suffering from the resentment of the discarded minister. The emperor was silent, and dismissed Ameer Khan; after whose departure he conjured Izaac Khan by his own head to speak his real sentiments. Izaac Khan, patronized by Ameer Khan, and joined with him in the late consultations, was at a loss; which the emperor observing, again entreated him more earnestly. Upon this he replied, that if he should recommend measures contrary to those of Ameer Khan, he should forfeit his word, and if he advised the same, he should be inimical to his majesty's welfare; therefore begged to be silent; but Mahummud Shaw repeated his requests. He then observed, that though Ameer Khan was of high rank, and the son of a nobleman of still higher, and possessed courage and much wit, yet from the looseness of his manners, he could not command proper respect in the important office of vizier; that his dependants, among whom was himself, by his patronage recommended to his majesty, and raised to distinctions, were as yet esteemed only by the great rajas of Hindoostan as ordinary persons to whom they would not submit as superiors: that, on the contrary, they regarded with veneration the nizam and vizier, and esteemed their service honourable to themselves; therefore, it would not be adviseable to remove such personages, for those like Ameer Khan and himself. The emperor, upon this, sought to conciliate the vizier, and communicated his intentions to Ameer Khan; who immediately hastened to the nizam, offering concessions to him and the vizier. It was agreed, that he should for the present, as a proof of his sincerity in relinquishing his designs against the vizier, retire to his government of Aleabad; which he did immediately. The vizier returned to court, where harmony was again established, and Izaac Khan became equally the favourite of

of the minister, as of Mahummud Shaw. Boorahan al Moolk was succeeded in the government of Oude by his son in law Suffder Jung; Zekariah Khan was continued soubahdar of Lahore; and Shujah ad Dowlah, navob of Bengal, was succeeded by his son Allah ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; who being shortly after defeated and slain by Aliverdi Khan, the governor of Patna, the usurper seized the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and was confirmed in them by the imperial grants, for a large peshcush and a promise of remitting the royal revenues to the treasury. Nizam al Moolk returned to Dekkan, which had fallen into disorder, from the disaffection of the provinces during the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and the precipitate conduct of his son Nasir Jung.

Upon the departure of Ameer Khan to Aleabad, Izaac Khan enjoyed the greatest share of the emperor's confidence; and as he did not aspire to the more important offices of state, the vizier was not jealous of the favours conferred upon him: but Izaac Khan did not long survive his exaltation. Mahummud Shaw was truly afflicted at his loss, and continued his affection for the father to his children, but particularly to the eldest son, Meerza Mahummud, often saying, that had he not him to supply the place of the deceased, he should have died of grief for his loss.

This year the emperor summoned to court Ameer Khan from Aleabad, Suffder Jung, soubahdar of Oude, Zekariah Khan, nizam of Lahore and Multaun; also the rajas Bukht Sing Rhatoree and Jey Sing. A mandate was likewise dispatched to Nizam al Moolk; but he pleaded in excuse for his disobedience, his great age, though in fact he was at the time employed in securing the government of Dekkan to his family. Raja Jey Sing died this year, and three of his wives with many concubines burned themselves on his funeral pile. Ameer Khan and Suffder Jung, on their arrival at court, were received with the greatest marks of the royal favour. This

A. H. 1156.

A. D. 1743.

AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS.

year the emperor's only son, prince Ahmed, was married to a daughter of the lineal descendant of Mahabut Khan, so celebrated in the reign of ^a Jechaungeer. The soubahdary of Guzarat was conferred on Fukhir ad Dowlah; but, after a feeble attempt to recover it from the Mharattas, he returned to Dhely.

57. Suffder Jung was hononoured with the post of meer atush, or
44. command of the artillery, and the government of Kashmeer.

58. This year the emperor, at the request of Suffder Jung, march-
45. ed to reduce ^b Ali Mahummud Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, who had from the negligence of government possessed himself of the districts of ^c Kutteer, and assumed independance of the royal authority. He was besieged in a fortress called Bangur, and being taken prisoner, was committed to the care of the vizier; after which the royal army returned to Dhely. Zekariah Khan dying, the soubahdary of Lahore was conferred on the vizier, who appointed two sons of the deceased his deputies; but the brothers quarrelling with each other, the eldest obtained superiority in the contest, and was confirmed in the government of the province, with the title of Shaw-nowauz Khan.

59. This year was distinguished by no other remarkable events,
46. than the death of Ameer Khan, and the marriage of Shujah ad Dowlah, son of Suffder Jung, to the daughter of the late Izaac Khan,

^a Mahabut Khan seized that emperor's person, and for some time controuled the royal authority; but was obliged to retire by the intrigues of the empress Noor Jeaun.

^b The founder of the Rohilla government, in the end overthrown by Shujah ad Dowlah with the assistance of the English, for having neglected to fulfil the terms of a treaty made with him, when defended by his arms from the invasions of the Mharattas.

^c Now called, from the residence of the Rohillas, Rohilcund. It is in possession of the navob vizier.

Khan, the emperor's favourite. These nuptials were celebrated with uncommon splendour. Among the presents made to the bride, were one thousand silver cups, each weighing ^a one hundred rupees.

Ameer Khan had since his last arrival at court conducted the whole administration; the vizier being incapable of attending the durbar, from a hurt occasioned by a fall from a terrace, and contentedly allowing his rival to exercise the influence of his office in his name, while he enjoyed security and repose. Suffder Jung, the only one of the nobility able to oppose him, was his friend; so that he had no competitor for the royal favour. He was naturally free of speech, and the emperor, fond of his repartee, had allowed him more license in conversation than was consistent with respect to his own dignity. As he acquired power in the state, this freedom grew to importunity, when he was on business with the emperor; which by degrees disgusted Mahummud Shaw, and made him wish his removal from office. The royal jealousy was also excited by Ameer Khan's paying a visit to the princes of the blood confined in the citadel of Seleemgur. The emperor, however, fearing his power, did not openly shew any change towards him. At length, Ameer Khan one day pressing some request, which his majesty did not chuse to grant, he desired him to be silent, and he would hear him on the subject another day. The minister persisted, and was three times mildly put off, but still continued his importunity. At length, Roze Afzoon Khan, a eunuch, ^b nazir of the haram, rebuked him in harsh terms for his disrespect to his sovereign; upon which Ameer Khan, highly enraged, exclaimed, "What privilege has a slave to interrupt the conversation of a nobleman?" The eunuch replied, "If I am a slave, I am the slave of his majesty alone, and not of others." The minister, inflamed with passion, now addressed the emperor, saying, if the eunuch was not removed,

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^a Twelve pounds sterling.

^b The nazir has the sole direction of the seraglio.

he would no longer attend the court; and demanded the disposal of his office of nazir to one of his own servants. The emperor consented for the present, and the minister retired; but Mahummud Shaw, on consideration, was alarmed for his own safety, should Ameer Khan persist in claiming possession of the nuzzarut. The eunuch advised the assassination of the minister, and undertook to effect it, without delay. The emperor assented. A person who had been discharged from the service of Ameer Khan, was applied to by the eunuch, and agreed to perpetrate the murder. A day or two afterwards the minister attended the durbar, to receive the investiture of the nuzzarut, bringing with him Aggah Khan, a favourite eunuch, to be appointed his deputy in its immediate exercise. The assassin was placed in the passage leading to the chamber of private audience, and coming behind him just as he had reached the door, stabbed him with a dagger so effectually, that the unfortunate Ameer Khan fell down dead on the instant. His corpse was thrown into a palanquin and carried to his own house, where the imperial officers had been already sent to seize his effects; but were resisted by the military followers of the deceased, under pretence that great arrears of pay were due to them, satisfaction for which they demanded, before they would relinquish the personal estate; nor would they suffer the body to be buried. After four days, Suffder Jung pledging himself for the payment of their demands, if they would give up the corpse for interment, by this time in a state of putrefaction, they consented; keeping, however, the nearest relations of the deceased in their hands, as a security for the performance of his promise. After the funeral, the effects were sold to satisfy the troops, and the emperor obtained possession of the jewels and armoury for a ^alack of rupees, which were worth ^bfifty lacks, if not a greater sum. The jaghire of the deceased was given to the daughter of the emperor, and put under the direction of Nudjum ad Dowlah, son to the late Izaac Khan.

This

^a Twelve thousand pounds.

^b Five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

This year was distinguished by the invasion of Ahmed Abdallee, and the death of the emperor Mahummud Shaw. Ahmed was the son of a chief of the Afghaun tribe of Abdal, in the vicinity of the city of Heraut, and was taken prisoner in his infancy by Nadir Shaw, who gave him the post of a ^a yessawul, and by degrees promoted him to a considerable command in his army. Upon the assassination of that monarch, he had the good fortune to possess himself of a considerable treasure, with which he retired to his native country, and assumed the honours of royalty over the Afghauns of his tribe. He then marched against the fortress of Candahar, which submitted to his arms; and prevailed upon Nasir Khan, the soubahdar of Cabul, to acknowledge his authority, permitting him to continue in office on promising to pay down five lacks of rupees. Nasir Khan would have performed his agreement, but the chief inhabitants of the province refusing to contribute the sum, and persuading him to resist, he withdrew his allegiance; upon which Ahmed Abdallee marched against him. On his approach the people of Cabul deserted their governor, and Nasir Khan retired to the city of Peshawir, where he held out for some time; but fearful of falling into the hands of Abdal Shaw, as his provisions were exhausted, and he had no hopes of a supply, he made his escape towards Dhely, leaving his family and effects behind him, which, with the fortress, fell into the hands of the besiegers, two days after his departure. During this siege, Shawnowauz Khan, soubahdar of Lahore, offered to join the fortunes of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, on condition of being appointed his vizier, and his proposal was accepted; but, at the remonstrance of his uncle Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier to the emperor Mahummud Shaw, he repented of his treachery; and when Ahmed Abdallee, on the fall of Peshawir, claimed performance of his engagement, he declined it. The shaw, being enraged, marched against Lahore, which fell into his hands after a short resistance.

Shaw-

^a Mace-bearer.

Shaw-nowauz Khan made his escape, with a few attendants, to Dhely. Emboldened by this success, and the weakness of the empire; Ahmed Shaw resolved to attempt the conquest of the capital of Hindoostan; and in the beginning of this year began his march from Lahore. Mahummud Shaw, being at this time too much indisposed to take the field, dispatched his only son, prince Ahmed, against the enemy, under the conduct of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, Suffder Jung, soubahdar of Oude, Eesuree Sing, -raja of Jeypore, and several other chiefs, with a great army. They advanced to the banks of the Suttulludge without meeting the enemy, who had artfully passed them and plundered the rich city of Sirhind, where the heavy baggage of the prince was deposited. Upon intelligence of this misfortune the prince returned, and upon his arrival near the enemy threw up entrenchments round his camp. The Afghaun shaw did the same; and for some days several skirmishes took place between the two armies. At length, Kummir ad Dien Khan, the vizier, being killed as he was at his devotions in his tent by a cannon ball, a panic prevailed in the Mogul army, and Eesuree Sing with his Raajepootes fled from the field. Meer Munnoo, the vizier's son, and Suffder Jung, however, disdained to fly, and by their address restored order in the camp. The next day, a magazine of rockets taking fire in the enemy's camp, numbers of the troops were wounded by the explosion; and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, either disheartened by this loss, or satisfied by the plunder gained at Sirhind, thought proper to retreat towards Cabul, which he did unmolested. Mahummud Shaw being near his end, upon intelligence of the enemy's defeat, commanded the prince to return to Dhely, having first conferred the government of Lahore on Meer Munnoo, as a reward for his services. Before the royal army reached Dhely the emperor expired, aged forty eight years and some months, in the thirty first year of his reign. His death was concealed for some days, till the arrival of the prince; who on the first of Jemmaud al Awul was saluted emperor in the garden of Shalimar;

Shalimar, and on Friday, the twelfth of the same month, went in royal pomp to the great mosque, where the khootbah was read, and coins were struck in his name. Mahummud Shaw was buried in the college of Nizam ad Dien, in a sepulchre he had erected on purpose.

Mahummud Shaw was not destitute of abilities and judgment, but had an indolence of disposition too blameable in a sovereign; on which account he was overruled by his ministers, and governed by his domestic servants. He was unable to restore the empire from the decline it had suffered during the reign of Ferokhsere; and being very young at his accession, and addicted to pleasure, he neglected publick business; so that disorder encreased. After the invasion of Nadir Shaw he became dispirited, and gave himself up to devotion and the society of religious men. He was averse from oppression and shedding of blood, and the people from him suffered no wrong. While he lived, the royal name was respectable; and by his prudence he sustained the tottering pillars of the state from falling into total ruin, but could not repair the unwieldy fabric.

Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier, though neglectful of business, and much addicted to women and wine, yet was so merciful and generous, that the inhabitants of Dhely still remember him with gratitude and affection, notwithstanding his incapacity for his important station.

AHMED SHAW.

AHMED Shaw on his accession, offered the vizarut to Nizam al Moolk ; who excused himself from accepting it, on account of his great age, being in his hundred and fourth year ; nor did he long survive this refusal, dying about a month afterwards in the vicinity of Boorahanpore, the capital of Khandeshe. He had governed the Mogul provinces of Dekkan for thirty years, as an independant prince, except in name, with great ability and success. He left behind him six sons, and was succeeded in Dekkan by the second, Meer Ahmed Nasir Jung ; the eldest, Ghazee ad Dien, residing at Dhely, in the office of ameer al amra. Nizam al Moolk is much venerated in Hindoostan for his wisdom, policy, generosity, and learning. An account of his life would form a volume, which may one day be presented to the public.

Immediately upon the death of the nizam the vizarut was bestowed on Suffder Jung, who assumed the whole administration of the imperial authority ; Ahmed Shaw, contrary to the hopes which had been formed of him, giving himself up to pleasure, and paying no attention to the affairs of government. Suffder Jung's first measure in office, was to attempt the expulsion of the Rohillas from Kutteer, bordering on his province of Oude. He for this purpose instigated Kaium Jung, the navob of Ferokhabad, to declare war against them, Ali Mahummud their chief being just dead, and the country in an unsettled state, owing to the minority of
of

of his sons and the ambitious disputes of their guardians. Kaium Jung complied with the wishes of the vizier, but was defeated and slain by the Rohillas.

Disappointed in the conquest of Kutteer, Suffder Jung resolved to reap advantage from the death of the deluded Kaium Jung. He persuaded the emperor to march towards Ferokhabad, and confiscate his estates. The widow, children, and mother of the navob, unable to resist, submitted to his authority and gave up their treasures. The principal servants of the deceased were sent prisoners to Aleabad; but his mother was allowed to keep the city of Ferokhabad and twelve small districts, for the support of the family, as they had been conferred on it in perpetuity by the emperor Ferokhsere. The conquered country was committed to the care of the vizier's deputy, Raja Nowil Roy. This year, Ahmed Abdallee advanced again as far as Lahore; but being gallantly resisted by Meer Muinoo, he thought proper to retreat, on his agreeing to pay him the revenues of four districts in that province. A. H. 1162. A. D. 1749.

The vizier was scarcely returned to Dhely, when Ahmed Khan, a brother of the late Kaium Jung, collected an army of Afghauns, and recovered the territories lately seized from his family, by defeating Raja Nowil Roy, who was slain in the action. The vizier was on his march to assist his deputy, when he received accounts of his death, and pressed on to revenge it; but the fortune of Ahmed Khan prevailed. He, in a general action, defeated the vizier, who fled to Dhely, trembling for the safety of his province of Oude, now exposed to the resentment of the enemy. A. H. 1163. A. D. 1750.

Ahmed Khan immediately after his victory marched to Aleabad, which fortress he besieged, and dispatched his son Mhamood Khan to seize the city of Lucnow. The vizier summoned an army of Mharattas to his assistance, with which, in two months after his

lofs, he moved from Dhely, recovered his own dominions from the enemy, and obliged Ahmed Khan, with his allies the other Rohillas, to take shelter in the hills. Upon his fubmiffion, Ahmed Khan was reftated in the poffeffion of Ferokhabad and a country producing a revenue of fixteen lacks of rupees; the reft of the territories poffeffed by the late Kaium Jung being divided between the vizier and the Mharattas. The other Rohillas purchafed their pardon by the payment of a large contribution. This year was alfo diftinguifhed by an attempt to recover the foubahdary of Ajmere from the Raajepootes, who had affumed independance; but the imperial general was defeated, and returned in difgrace to Dhely. The vizier, after his victory, employed himfelf in refettling his wafte provinces.

This year was diftinguifhed by the death of Nafir Jung, fecond fon and fucceffor to Nizam al Moolk in Dekkan, by a confpiracy of his own fervants, affifted by the French, who furprized his camp while he was engaged in quelling a rebellion raifed by his nephew Muzzuffir Jung, who was taken prifoner; but on the death of his uncle was placed on the mufnud of Dekkan by the confpirators. This young prince did not long enjoy his dignity, but was affaffinated almoft immediately after his acceffion, by the fame perfons who had raifed him to power; when Sullabut Jung, third fon of the old nizam, was placed on the mufnud by the French, and Raja Ragonaut, dewan to Muzzuffir Jung. Mr. Buffy was created a noble of the empire, and the northern firkaurs granted in jaghire to his nation.*

This year Ahmed Shaw Abdallee again advanced as far as Lahore, and was oppofed for four months by Meer Munnoo; who, however, lofing two of his principal generals, and his troops being difpirited, was obliged to fubmit. He was received into favour by

* For a detail of thefe events, fee Mr. Orme's elegant hiftory.

by the conqueror, who appointed him governor of Lahore and Multaun under his authority; and thus were these two valuable provinces torn from their dependance on the descendants of Timur. Ahmed Abdallee, during his stay at Lahore, sent an ambassador to Dhely, demanding concessions from the emperor; who, much alarmed, recalled Suffder Jung to court. The vizier obeyed the summons, and repaired to Dhely, with his own army, and his auxiliary Mharattas; but Jaweed Khan, the favourite eunuch, before his arrival had persuaded the emperor to purchase peace by complying with the demands of the Abdallee monarch, who retreated from Lahore to his own dominions. The vizier, offended at this measure, declined appearing at court, encamped in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and informed the emperor that he must devise some means of paying the Mharattas, whom he had brought to his assistance on the promise of a large sum of money. At this period, fortunately for Ahmed Shaw, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, eldest son of the late nizam, esteeming the death of his brother Nasir Jung, favourable to his claims on the government of Dekkan, offered to pay the demands of the Mharattas, if the emperor would grant him the soubahdary of that country. Ahmed Shaw readily complied, and Ghazee ad Dien Khan prevailed on the Mharatta chiefs to accompany him to Dekkan, by payment of a large sum of money in hand, and promises of greater favours when he should arrive at his government.

The vizier, Suffder Jung, upon the departure of the Mharattas, entered Dhely, and attended in his offices at court; but he was much disgusted at the influence of the eunuch Jaweed Khan over the emperor, and the disgraceful peace made by the favourite's advice with the Abdallee Shaw. He resolved to remove him; and, for this purpose, having invited him to an entertainment, had him assassinated by one of his servants. This action enraged the emperor against him, and made him resolve on displacing him

loss, he moved from Dhely, recovered his own dominions from the enemy, and obliged Ahmed Khan, with his allies the other Rohillas, to take shelter in the hills. Upon his submission, Ahmed Khan was reinstated in the possession of Ferokhabad and a country producing a revenue of sixteen lacks of rupees; the rest of the territories possessed by the late Kaium Jung being divided between the vizier and the Mharattas. The other Rohillas purchased their pardon by the payment of a large contribution. This year was also distinguished by an attempt to recover the soubahdary of Ajmere from the Raajepootes, who had assumed independance; but the imperial general was defeated, and returned in disgrace to Dhely. The vizier, after his victory, employed himself in resettling his wasted provinces.

This year was distinguished by the death of Nafir Jung, second son and successor to Nizam al Moolk in Dekkan, by a conspiracy of his own servants, assisted by the French, who surprized his camp while he was engaged in quelling a rebellion raised by his nephew Muzzuffir Jung, who was taken prisoner; but on the death of his uncle was placed on the musnud of Dekkan by the conspirators. This young prince did not long enjoy his dignity, but was assassinated almost immediately after his accession, by the same persons who had raised him to power; when Sullabut Jung, third son of the old nizam, was placed on the musnud by the French, and Raja Ragonaut, dewan to Muzzuffir Jung. Mr. Buffy was created a noble of the empire, and the northern firkaurs granted in jaghire to his nation.*

This year Ahmed Shaw Abdallee again advanced as far as Lahore, and was opposed for four months by Meer Munnoo; who, however, losing two of his principal generals, and his troops being dispirited, was obliged to submit. He was received into favour by

* For a detail of these events, see Mr. Orme's elegant history.

by the conqueror, who appointed him governor of Lahore and Multaun under his authority; and thus were these two valuable provinces torn from their dependance on the descendants of Timur. Ahmed Abdallee, during his stay at Lahore, sent an ambassador to Dhely, demanding concessions from the emperor; who, much alarmed, recalled Suffder Jung to court. The vizier obeyed the summons, and repaired to Dhely, with his own army, and his auxiliary Mharattas; but Jaweed Khan, the favourite eunuch, before his arrival had persuaded the emperor to purchase peace by complying with the demands of the Abdallee monarch, who retreated from Lahoré to his own dominions. The vizier, offended at this measure, declined appearing at court, encamped in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and informed the emperor that he must devise some means of paying the Mharattas, whom he had brought to his assistance on the promise of a large sum of money. At this period, fortunately for Ahmed Shaw, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, eldest son of the late nizam, esteeming the death of his brother Nasir Jung, favourable to his claims on the government of Dekkan, offered to pay the demands of the Mharattas, if the emperor would grant him the soubahdary of that country. Ahmed Shaw readily complied, and Ghazee ad Dien Khan prevailed on the Mharatta chiefs to accompany him to Dekkan, by payment of a large sum of money in hand, and promises of greater favours when he should arrive at his government.

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from his person and the vizarut; but such was the power of Suffder Jung, that Ahmed Shaw dared not for the present avow his designs.

Ghazee ad Dien-Khan, with the Mharattas, reached Aurungabad, the capital of Dekkan, unmolested, but died suddenly, a few nights after his arrival at the city; upon which his followers dispersed, and his body was brought by his domestics to Dhely. He left behind him one son, named Shaab ad Dien, a youth of extraordinary abilities. By the interest of Suffder Jung, he was appointed to succeed his father as ameer al amra, and received the same titles of Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadur, in addition to his own. The first use which the young man made of his power, was to advise the emperor to proceed to extremities in his resentment against his patron. Ahmed Shaw, accordingly, removed him from his office of meer atush, and expelled his deputy from the palace: Suffder Jung, unwilling to resist his sovereign, requested to be allowed to retire to his government of Oude; and the emperor consenting, he left Dhely, and encamped at a small distance from it. His friends, however, representing to him the folly of so easily resigning his power, he changed his intention of repairing to Oude, and resolved to depose Ahmed Shaw; for which purpose he called the Jauts to his assistance, and throwing off his allegiance, set up a youth as emperor, pretending that he was one of the royal family who had escaped from prison. He besieged Dhely for six months, but was bravely resisted by the young ameer al amra. Both parties at length being tired of the war, Suffder Jung, on being allowed to keep the provinces of Oude and Aleabad, gave up the pretended prince, and retired to his government, leaving Ghazee ad Dien Khan in possession of what authority yet remained to the imperial name, and his office of vizier was conferred on Intizam ad Dowlah, son of the late vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

Upon the retreat of Suffder Jung, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, being joined by an army of Mharattas, which he had invited into his service, marched from Dhely against the Jaut raja, Soorauje Mul, who possessed the province of Agra. The raja, unable to keep the field, retired to his strongest fortress, which was surrounded; but the minister having no battering cannon petitioned the emperor to send the royal train from Dhely. By this time Ahmed Shaw had been alarmed at the ambitious proceedings of the young ameer al amra, who had behaved towards him with great haughtiness, and shewn little respect to the royal authority, which made him apprehensive of his own safety, should he acquire the rich conquest of the Jaut territories. Soorauje Mul had also written privately to court, that if the emperor would march to ^aSecundra, he would join him with his troops, and free him from the impending dangers of the treachery of his minister. This petition was enforced by the advice of Intizam ad Dowlah, who enjoyed the chief confidence of the emperor and his mother, to whose affections he had succeeded on the death of Jaweed Khan. Ahmed Shaw refused the cannon, and marched from Dhely with a small army of household guards, but a cumbrous train of followers and baggage, carrying with him all the ladies of the haram, to Secundra. Ghazee ad Dien, on intelligence of this, detached a party of Mharattas to impede his progress. These plunderers surprised the royal camp at night. Ahmed Shaw, with his mother and vizier, made their escape in covered litters to Dhely, with a few attendants, leaving their unhappy followers to the mercy of the enemy. On this occasion, all the insignia of royalty, the imperial baggage, and many princesses of the Timur family, (among whom was the widow of Mahummud Shaw) fell into the hands of the Mharattas. After the confusion of victory and consequent plunder, the ladies were released, and furnished with an escort to Dhely.

Ghazee

^a A town between Dhely and Agra.

AURUNGZEBE's SUCCESSORS.

Ghazee ad Dien now returned to Dhely, and assuming the vizarut from Intizam ad Dowlah, deposed the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw, who was blinded, and confined with his mother in Se-leemgur. Yezzeez ad Dien, son of the late Jechaundar Shaw, was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Aulumgeer the Second. This event happened on Sunday, the tenth of Shaubaun, 1167.

This year died Suffder Jung, late vizier, and soubahdar of Oude, and was succeeded in his government and estates by his son Shujah ad Dowlah.

AULUMGEER

AULUMGEER 2^d.

GHAZEE ad Dien Khan, upon the establishment of the new emperor's administration, marched from Dhely, carrying the pageant monarch with him, intending to wrest Lahore and Multaun from the Abdallee conqueror, Meer Munnoo, the governor, being lately dead, and the consequent confusion of affairs promising success to his designs ; but a mutiny breaking out in a corps of cavalry, the officers treacherously seized his person, and treated him with great indignity. His other troops were afraid to act while he was in the hands of an enemy. The emperor, who was disgusted at the haughtiness of his minister, encouraged the mutineers, and even offered them a large sum to deliver their prisoner into his hands. In this dangerous crisis, the fortitude and address of Ghazee did not forsake him. He soothed the discontented officers with assurances of paying their arrears and forgetting their disrespect to his person. They released him ; and the first use he made of his freedom was, to order Nujeeb ad Dowlah with his followers to fall upon the revolted corps. Numbers were slaughtered, and the rest dispersed. The minister returned for the present to Dhely, where he placed the weak Aulumgeer under a guard, and then taking with him the emperor's eldest son, Alee Gohur, renewed his expedition.

Ghazee ad Dien had been betrothed to the daughter of Meer Munnoo, and he now made the completion of his espousals a pretence.

pretence for marching to Lahore, in order to conceal his designs of seizing the government from the widow. Upon his arrival at Lodiana, he dispatched a splendid escort and a letter to her mother, demanding his bride. She complied with his request, and committed the young lady to the charge of his emissaries, with her marriage portion, happy to purchase so easily the protection of the vizier. While engaged in the festivities of his nuptials, the minister dispatched suddenly a considerable force to Lahore, and the governess, not suspecting treachery, was seized and conducted with her treasures to the camp of her son in law, who conferred the government of the province on Adeena Beg Khan for an advance of thirty lacks of rupees. Upon the accomplishment of this affair he returned to Dhely; but the widow of Meer Munnoo was not to be appeased, threatening him with speedy vengeance for her affronts, from Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, her sovereign. Shortly indeed were her assurances fulfilled; and the unfortunate subjects of Hindoostan severely punished for the avarice of the vizier, who, however, by his address escaped the danger, which his insidious policy inflicted on the people.

Ahmed Shaw Abdallee immediately on intelligence of the vizier's treachery marched from Candahar to Lahore, which was evacuated on his approach, and pursued his route to Dhely. Ghazee ad Dien, knowing himself incapable of resisting such an enemy, begged forgiveness of his mother in law, and obtaining her recommendations to the Shaw, set out for his camp with a few attendants. The Afghaun rebuked him severely for his treacherous conduct, but consented to pardon him, on promise of 70. a large contribution from Dhely. To the capital the minister 56. accompanied him, and, like Nadir Shaw, the conqueror took up his residence in the citadel. The wretched emperor Aulumgeer, being incapable of resistance, affected to receive him as a royal guest. Dhely was for many days given up to the merciless plunder

der of the soldiery, whose avarice was insatiable. Such was their cruelty in gratifying it, that numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants put themselves to death, with their women, to escape disgrace. A whole month passed in terror and alarms. The house of the late Kummir ad Dien Khan was plundered, and those families who had been fortunate enough to escape the rapacity of Nadir Shaw, were now also involved in ruin. Unsatisfied with the wealth of the capital, Ahmed Shaw marched against the Jaut raja, Soorauje Mul, who possessed the province of Agra, and dispatched Ghazee ad Dien Khan, with one of his generals and two princes of the house of Timur, to raise contributions from the Doaub, or countries lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

Ghazee ad Dien being arrived at Ferokhabad, Ahmed Khan Bungush, the soubahdar, purchased his safety by a sum of money, and joined him with his troops; the minister intending to pursue his march into the territories of the young navob of Oude, Shujah ad Dowlah, who, suspecting his designs, had marched with all his forces to the frontier of his country, and was joined by the navob Saadoollah Khan, chief of the Rohillas, an alliance then subsisting between them. Ghazee, after trying in vain to detach Saadoollah from his friend, thought it prudent to suspend hostilities, and finally to give over his designs upon Oude, on Shujah's consenting to pay him an offering of five lacks of rupees for the young princes. He halted however at Ferokhabad, being unwilling to return to the Afghaun conqueror without the sums he had promised him.

Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, who had marched against the raja Soorauje Mul, after taking Bullumgur, a strong fortress, and inflicting a general massacre on the unhappy inhabitants of Muttra, (a city venerated as holy among the Hindoos, and the resort of pilgrims from all parts of the empire) was employed in reducing

Dowlah had been deposed by the assistance of the English, and Meer Jaffier set up in his room.

Ghazee ad Dien Khan, disappointed in his attacks on the prince, resolved to execute vengeance on Nujeeb ad Dowlah, his protector; and for this purpose called in an army of Mharattas, under the chiefs Junko and Duttah Sindia, who invaded his country, which he defended against them for some months, being assisted by the nabob of Oude and the Rohillas; when the Mharattas, at length, agreed for a sum of money to grant him peace; being called upon to defend their newly acquired territories in Lahore, which were threatened with loss by the approach of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, apprehensive of the resentment of that prince for the indignities shewn to Aulumgeer, and the removal of Nujeeb ad Dowlah from the post of ameer al amra conferred upon him by Abdallee, assassinated his unhappy sovereign; and leaving Dhely in possession of the Mharattas, retired to one of the fortresses of Raja Soorauje Mul, chief of the Jauts, who gave him protection. * Mohee al Sunnut, son of Kaum Bukhs, and grandson of Aurungzebe, was seated on the throne, by the title of ^b Shaw Jehaun, and insulted with the empty name of emperor.

When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, left his son Timur Shaw with Jehaun Khan at Lahore, that chief thought it prudent to bestow a considerable tract of country in fann on Adeena Beg Khan, the general of the late Meer Munnoo, who was at the head of a considerable body of troops. Adeena Beg accepted his offer, and for some time remained faithful in his employment; but, being at length suspicious of Jehaun Khan's intentions towards him, he quitted his office, and retired to the hills with his followers, where he excited the Siks to rebellion, and, in conjunction with them, overran the country between the rivers Ra-

wce

* Reviver of religion.

^b King of the world.

wee and Suttulludge. Jehaun Khan sent against him Moraūd Khan, who was defeated, and the Durannies driven from several places. At this time, Ragonaut Raow, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar, had reached the vicinity of Dhely with an army of Mharattas, to whom Adeena Beg Khan dispatched frequent invitations to invade Lahore, which they accepted. At Sirhind they were opposed by the governor, whom they defeated and took prisoner; after which they proceeded to Lahore by forced marches. Jehaun Khan, after some skirmishing, found himself unequal to defence against such superior numbers, and flying with Timur Shaw in the greatest haste, evacuated the country. His retreat put the victors in possession of the provinces of Lahore and Multaun; the former of which they conferred upon Adeena Beg Khan, on his agreeing to pay them annually the sum of ^a seventy five lacks of rupees, and retreated to Dhely. On the rains approaching, they marched back to Dekkan, but left a body of troops under Junko, as soubahdar of Ajmere, to protect their conquests.

The next year, Adeena Beg Khan dying, Junko gave the government of Sirhind to Suddeek Beg Khan, the country between the rivers to the widow of Adeena Beg Khan, and appointed Summa, a Mharatta chief, to reside at Lahore as soubahdar, who extended his dependancies as far north as the river Attok. During these events, the Mharatta power had spread itself in almost every province of Hindoostan, when Nujeeb ad Dowlah, the Rohillas, and Shujah ad Dowlah united, to prevent, if possible, the total overthrow of Mahummedan existence in the empire. Nujeeb ad Dowlah was at this time closely blocked up at Sukkertal; and though Shujah ad Dowlah had in some measure assisted him, yet the number of the enemy was so superior, that there was little prospect of long holding out against

^a Seven hundred thousand pounds.

against them. The Hindoo princes also were equally oppressed by the Mharattas; who, though of the same faith, only left a bare maintenance to those whom they conquered. Both Mussulmans and Hindoos joined in petitions to Ahmed Shaw, that he would march and assume the throne of Dhely, in which they promised to support him. The Abdallee, enraged at the seizure of Lahore by the Mharattas, was rejoiced at the invitation, which assured him that he would only have one enemy to oppose, and he resolved to accept it. He advanced without delay across the Attok, and drove the Mharattas before him to Lahore, which they evacuated also upon his arrival. They were joined in their flight by Suddeek Beg Khan, the widow of Adeena Beg, and their other renters; nor did they stop till they had reached the vicinity of Dhely. From Lahore, Ahmed Shaw advanced towards Dhely. Upon intelligence of his approach reaching Duttah Sindia, that chief raised the blockade of Nujeeb ad Dowlah's camp, without finishing a negotiation of peace then began, and marched with an army of eighty thousand horse against Ahmed Shaw. That prince had crossed the Jumna, on account of the great scarcity of provisions in the high road from Lahore, owing to the late depredations of the Mharattas, who had plundered and laid waste the country in their flight, in order to retard his pursuit, and, perhaps, oblige him to retreat to his own country for want of subsistence. He was soon joined by the chiefs Nujeeb ad Dowlah, Saadoollah Khan, Hafiz Rhamut, and Doondee Khan, who supplied his army with grain and other necessaries from their territories east of the Ganges. The Mharattas encamped near Dhely, and Ahmed Shaw marched to give them battle. For some days, the Duranny remained hovering round their camp, and skirmishing only took place between detached parties on either side. At length Duttah, distressed for provisions, having first sent off his nephew Junko to Dekkan, with a small party, determined to hazard a battle. With his whole army dismounted, he drew up

up in front of his camp, inviting the Durannies to action. The challenge was accepted, and a bloody engagement succeeded, in which, at last, Duttah and the greatest part of his troops were cut to pieces. Ahmed Shaw the same day, immediately after the victory, hastened in pursuit of Junko, and did not quit it till he arrived at Narnoul. Here he received intelligence that Holkar, who was the Mharatta chief in the Jeypore country, had marched to Soorauje Mul, chief of the Jauts, whom he endeavoured to prevail upon to join him; but he alleged in his excuse for not complying, that he could not spare troops from his garrisons, which he must defend against the Durannies. Holkar upon this moved with his own troops to Secundra, ^a twenty coss to the eastward of Dhely, where the Rohilla chiefs had collected stores of grain, and a supply of money for the Shaw's army, hoping to distress him by seizing them; but the Rohillas had taken the precaution to move the grain across the Ganges. The Shaw, upon this intelligence, detached Shaw Puffund Khan with a body of horse against Holkar. In the space of twenty four hours he marched with fifteen thousand horse from Narnoul to Dhely, the distance of ^b seventy coss, and only remaining a day at that city for refreshment, crossed the Jumna the night following, and about dawn arrived at Secundra, where Holkar was encamped. The Mharatta chief was completely surprized, and had scarce time to make his escape quite naked, with about three hundred followers. The rest of his troops were either killed or taken prisoners, and a great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Ahmed Shaw moved from Narnoul to Dhely; and at the approach of the rains crossed the Jumna to canton at Secundra, for the convenience of being supplied with provisions, as the country round Dhely, on the western bank of

^a Forty miles.

^b One hundred and forty miles.

of the Jumna, had been laid waste and desolate by his own and the enemy's depredations.

When intelligence of Duttah Sindia's defeat and death, the loss of Lahore, Dhely, and the overthrow of Holkar, reached Dekkan, Suddasheo Raow, commonly called Bhaow, nephew to Ballajee, the peshwa, and several other chiefs of the first note, and an army of sepoy, disciplined in the European method, artillery, and an innumerable host of cavalry, marched to regain their possessions in Hindoostan. Upon the arrival of this army near Agra, Soorauje Mul, the Jaut raja, was prevailed upon by Mulhar and Holkar, who had taken refuge with him, to visit the Bhaow, and at Muttra, Ghazee ad Dien Khan with a few followers joined them.

Suddasheo Bhaow, as the rapidity and depth of the Jumna would not permit him to cross and attack the Duranny Shaw, marched to Dhely, which he entered, and immediately commenced an assault upon the palace. One attack was made at the lion bastion, and another at the Dhely gate. Holkar and Junko endeavoured to force the gate, but in vain. At length, five hundred men with matchlocks, under Eetul Raow, scaled the walls near the lion bastion, and forced their way to the doors of the royal haram. Some Durannies now rushed from Seleemghur, and by a volley laid twelve of the assailants dead, which so alarmed the rest, that they in the greatest disorder turned their backs, and threw themselves over the walls. The Mharatta chiefs then retired to the palace of Saadoollah Khan. They erected batteries in different places, and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who commanded the disciplined sepoy and artillery, brought three pieces of cannon to bear on the fort from the bank of the Jumna, with which he battered the lion bastion, the octagonal tower, and the royal haram. Great part of the private audience

audience hall, and other apartments were damaged, and the unfortunate confined princes and princesses thrown into terror and confusion. For some days cannonading continued; at the end of which, Yacoob Ali Khan, the Duranny governor, finding provisions fall short, and seeing that no assistance could reach him from Ahmed Shaw, on account of the fulness of the Jumna, proposed to surrender the palace, on condition of being allowed to march out unmolested, with his followers and effects. His offer was complied with; and, evacuating the fort, he crossed the Jumna in boats with his garrison, and proceeded to the camp of Ahmed Shaw. The Bhaow gave the command of the garrison to Naroo Sunker, a bramin of distinction. The Bhaow, though he had the presumption to aspire at the empire of Hindoostan, was low and mean in his actions. He broke down the ceiling of the grand hall of audience, which was of silver, and melted it for coin. The gold and silver plate at the tombs of ^a Nizam ad Dien Ouleah, and those at the sepulchres of the emperors, as censers, lamps, and candlesticks, he also seized; and was guilty of every plunder expressive of a little mind. He had the imprudence to remain at Dhely, though the utmost scarcity of provisions prevailed, owing to the country adjacent having been the scene of war for four years successively. Towards the conclusion of the rains, he marched out to plunder the little cultivation which had taken place. On the twenty ninth of Suffir he placed Shaw ^b Jewan Bukht, son of Alee Gohur Shaw Aulum, on the throne, and appointed Shujah ad Dowlah his vizier, to whom firmauns were sent,

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A. H. 1174.
A. D. 1760.

^a A celebrated Mahummedan saint.

^b The same prince, who, in the year 1784, made his escape from Dhely, and threw himself on the protection of Mr. Hastings; who, by his influence with the vizier, obtained for him an allowance of forty thousand pounds per annum. On his death a liberal share of this pension was continued to his women and family, who yet reside at Banaras, under the English protection.

in hopes that this measure would breed dissention between him and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. Having left Naroo Sunker in Dhely to command the garrison, he at length marched with his army to Gunjeporah, where Abd al Summud Khan, Nujabut Khan, and Koottub Khan, with the zemindars of the country, were stationed to procure grain for the Duranny camp. He laid siege to the fort, which fell in a few days, and the chiefs were all slain in the storm.

The Duranny Shaw, immediately upon receiving intelligence of this event, though the river Jumna was not yet safely fordable, gave orders for march, and swam with his army across the river at Pakput near Dhely, though not without the loss of many men, who were drowned in the attempt; which, however, so astonished the Bhaow, who had marched to plunder the town of Sirhind, that he gave up the design, and returned with precipitation to Panniput. He had with him one hundred and forty thousand horse, commanded by the most celebrated and veteran Mharatta chiefs, besides his corps of sepoy and artillery; but, with this great force, not thinking himself equal to engage the Abdallee, he entrenched himself on a plain to the north of Panniput. The Duranny army soon arrived near him, and Ahmed Shaw sent out parties to prevent grain from passing to his camp. Daily skirmishes took place between bodies from both armies. At length, Ahmed Shaw finding that nothing would force the Mharattas from their camp, resolved upon an assault. Jehaun Khan, Pussund Khan, and Nujeeb ad Dowlah, formed the van, and were followed by the other Indian chiefs. The Mharattas on their approach drew out at a little distance in front of their lines. The action began with much fury at twelve o'clock, and continued doubtful with great slaughter till near twilight, when the Rohilla infantry

infantry of Nujeeb ad Dowlah forced their way into the enemy's works, and Bulwunt Raow, a near relation to the Bhaow, was killed, with a great number of men; but night coming on, Ahmed Shaw ordered a retreat, and the struggle ceased. Famine and sickness raged in the Mharatta camp, and numbers died every day; but they still held out, in hopes of being shortly supplied with provisions by Govind Pundit, the chief of Etawa and Korah, who had been collecting grain and money, which he had brought as far as Shawdirruk near Dhely, with an escort of ten thousand horse, intending to march up on the side of the Jumna opposite the Shaw's camp, and by degrees join his friends. Ahmed Shaw had intelligence of his motions, and sent Atta Beg Duranny, with five thousand horse, to intercept him. This chief crossed the Jumna, and in two days by forced marches reached Shawdirruk, where he surprized and put to death the deputy of Naroo Sunker, and all his people. From thence he advanced to Ghazee ad Dien Nuggur, and cut off a party of the enemy at that place. He then hastened to Jellallabad, where Govind Pundit had arrived with his convoy the same day. He was completely surprized, and his followers mostly fled. Those who resisted were cut to pieces, with himself and all his chief officers. The rich convoy, with the head of Govind Pundit, was conducted to Ahmed Shaw; who by this stroke completed the blockade of the Mharatta camp beyond relief. The enemy's station was now rendered intolerable by filth of every kind, numbers dying every day of famine and sickness. The chiefs held a consultation, and agreed, that as by remaining in entrenchments they must perish with disease and hunger, it was better to hazard a battle, and, if defeated, fly to Dekkan. They marched out of their camp, and advanced, with their artillery in front, towards the army of the Shaw, who was prepared for their reception, and per-

mitted them to move a considerable distance from their works. At length the Afghauns rushed upon them with such fury, as not to give them time to use their cannon. Little resistance was made, as the Bhaow was killed almost on the onset, which had an immediate effect on his troops, who fell into confusion. Junko and many other chiefs of note fell, and the route became general. Ibrahim Khan Gardee with his sepoy's made some stand, but were overpowered, and cut to pieces. The field floated with the blood of the numerous slain. Two and twenty thousand men and women were taken prisoners, and the plunder of the Mharatta camp exceeded all valuation. A great train of artillery, fifty thousand horses, two hundred thousand cattle, several thousand camels, and five hundred elephants, formed a part of this vast capture. But this was not all the loss of the enemy; for those who had escaped from the hands of the Durannies were mostly put to death in the villages, where they had hoped to find refuge; and of the chiefs of any rank, only three, among whom was Holkar Mulhar, found their way to Dekkan. In that country the intelligence of the defeat spread an universal consternation, and threw the Mharatta states into a confusion, from which, had the princes of Hindoostan followed the blow by a unity of action among themselves, they never could have recovered. But the nobles of Hindoostan had no sooner rid themselves of this general enemy, than their animosities revived against each other. The Duranny Shaw after his victory marched to Dhely, where he continued some months. Before his departure, he acknowledged Shaw Aulum as emperor of Hindoostan, and commanded

* Several pretenders have since started up, calling themselves the Bhaow. In 1779 one appeared at Banaras, and began to levy troops and raise disturbances in the city; upon which he was seized, and confined in the English garrison of Chunar, from whence he was released by Mr. Hastings in 1782.

SHAW AULUM 2^d.

75. **SHUJAH** ad Dowlah having received the khelaut of the
 61. vizarat from Shaw Aulum, who was on his march from Patna, where he had been acknowledged by the English, and the navob Meer Caufim Khan, hastened to receive him on the confines of his province, at the river Carumnassa. From thence the emperor and vizier marched into Bondelcund, and seized several districts from the Mharattas, not yet recovered from their late defeat. At the conclusion of this campaign, Meer Caufim having been expelled from Bengal by the English, threw himself on the protection of the vizier, who agreed to assist him in the recovery of his territories, when the events followed which are related in the account of the affairs of Bengal, following this history.

Nujeeb ad Dowlah, on the departure of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, being in possession of Dhely, was shortly after attacked by Soorauje Mul, raja of the Jauts, who had already extended his authority over the capital of Agra and its dependancies; but the raja being slain, as he was imprudently riding out with a thin attendance too near the enemy's line, his army fled, and the ameer al amra obtained an almost bloodless victory. He was however shortly after attacked by Jowahir Mul, the son and successor

* A particular account of this, and other transactions of Shaw Aulum in Bengal, will be seen in the history of that province, in this volume.

cessor of Soorauje Mul, when Dhely suffered the hardships of a siege for forty two days; at the expiration of which, Nujeeb ad Dowlah obtained a peace by making some concessions to the young raja. From this time he governed Dhely, and the few districts yet in possession of the royal family, with moderation and justice, till his death; when he was succeeded in his dominions by his son Zabtah Khan, who continued to protect the royal family; the emperor Shaw Aulum residing at Aleabad, with the English.

Shaw Aulum at length growing weary of his retirement at Aleabad, and finding, after repeated applications, that he could not obtain the assistance of the English to put him in possession of Dhely, over which he had only a nominal authority, or to extend his real power beyond the limits of the two small provinces of Aleabad and Korah, resolved to quit their protection, and call in the Mharattas to escort him to the capital of the empire, near which a considerable army was encamped. To this resolution he was urged on by Husham ad Dowlah, his favourite, who hoped to acquire the sole administration of the royal affairs, should the emperor leave Aleabad, where his power was controuled by Moneer ad Dowlah, an old minister, who enjoyed the confidence and support of the English, and with justice, as a respectable character, the favourite being a weak man, and known chiefly as the pander of the looser pleasures of his royal master. The vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, though apparently against the measure, yet privately encouraged Husham ad Dowlah to persuade the emperor to march, and even gave him a sum of money, as a proof of his friendship; for he regarded the presence of Shaw Aulum with the English, as a bar to the success of plans in which he required their assistance. Moneer ad Dowlah, who was well acquainted with the character of the Mharattas, and foresaw that his master would in the end fall a prey to their treachery, endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him against giving up the

A.H. 1185.

A.D. 1771.

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comfortable asylum of Aleabad, and the solid revenue he enjoyed from the English protection, for the acquisition of a desolated capital. The presidency of Calcutta also remonstrated; but Shaw Aulum was determined. He marched from Aleabad, and was accompanied as far as the frontiers of Korah by the vizier and Sir Robert Barker, commander in chief of the English forces. The latter, at taking leave, renewed his advice that his Majesty would remain with his nation; but Shaw Aulum was impatient to see himself enthroned in the palace of his ancestors. He moved onwards to Ferokhabad, the nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bughush, being lately dead, his estates and effects, according to the usage of the empire, had reverted to the crown. His son and successor, Muzzaffir Jung, on the payment of five lacks of rupees, as a composition for the royal demand, was confirmed in the possessions of his father. Shaw Aulum now had a respectable treasury, having made considerable savings from the revenue paid him by the English, and also obtained an advance of twenty two lacks of rupees for drafts on the Bengal tribute for the ensuing year, from the vizier and Moneer ad Dowlah. His army, though small, was well appointed; and he had two battalions of sepoys, which had been disciplined by English officers.

After

* The officers were removed on the march of Shaw Aulum. Different opinions have prevailed on the policy or impolicy of the English not joining the emperor. Had they accompanied him with a brigade, their conquests would doubtless have been splendid; but to preserve them they must have inevitably taken the lead in all public affairs. To some native nobles changes must have occurred from that very circumstance, and the council of Bengal knew they would have been loudly represented to our countrymen as acts of barbarity in the stigmatized servants of the company. My countrymen, compare impartially our conduct in the affairs of Bengal, with that of the native victors; and let the prejudices excited by interested, abusive, and, perhaps, envious eloquence, give place to the proper feelings of Englishmen, on discovering that the honour of our country has not been sullied by Englishmen in India. At home, you have seen false patriots daily. Believe me, we are not so treacherous in India. Posterity will do us justice.

After a stay of nearly two months in the vicinity of Ferokhabad, the emperor moved to Nubby Gunge, twenty five coss nearer Dhely; where he was joined by Sindia, a Mharatta chief, who came to settle the terms of service, and to escort him to the camp of his principal Bissajee, then encamped near Dhely. Moneer ad Dowlah had been left in charge of the provinces of Aleabad and Korah; so that Hufham ad Dowlah had now attained his wished for office of acting minister. He agreed to pay the Mharattas ten lacks of rupees, when the emperor should be put in possession of Dhely; but they insisted upon the sum in advance; which, after much negotiation was given them, and they performed the conditions. About the latter end of December 1771, Shaw Aulum made his entry into Dhely, and received the congratulations of his family, and the inhabitants of the ancient capital of Hindoostan.

The emperor's stay in Dhely was but short. He had resolved on the ruin of Batab Khan, for which many reasons are assigned. He had, it was said, been deficient in respect to the royal authority while Shaw Aulum resided at Aleabad; and it was also whispered, that during his command in the palace of Dhely, he had abused his trust, by corrupting the ladies of the haram, particularly the princess Khieroonissa, the emperor's sister; a conduct certainly deserving the royal displeasure. Whatever were the causes, Shaw Aulum had determined to seize his territories, and the Mharattas readily agreed to assist him, not only from the hope of plunder, but of gratifying their revenge for the losses they had suffered from Nujeeb ad Dowlah; to whose courage the victory of Shaw Ahmed Abdallee at Panniput had been greatly owing.

Shaw Aulum marched again in January 1772, not more than twenty days after his arrival at Dhely, with an army of

ninety thousand men, chiefly Mharatta cavalry, and without delay entered the districts of Zabtah Khan; who, unable to resist such a force in the field, evacuated his capital of Ghose Ghur, which was plundered, and fled across the Ganges, hoping to defend his territories on the eastern bank of that river, which he trusted would impede the royal progress. He stationed troops at the different fords; but this step weakened his main body, and was the cause of his destruction. Nujeeb Khan gallantly crossed the river, and dispersed the troops at one of the stations, when he was followed by the chief part of the Mharatta army; after which Zabtah Khan made but little resistance. He fled to Pattergur, where he had deposited his women and treasures, but was so closely pursued, that he had not time to remove them. This place surrendered after a few days' siege, and his family and effects fell into the hands of the enemy; but Zabtah Khan, with a few attendants, made his escape to the camp of the vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, who was advanced to Shawabad, the frontier city of his dominions, to watch the motions of the Mharattas, attended also by Sir Robert Barker, with four battalions of sepoy, and some officers appointed to discipline the vizier's regular battalions. The first brigade, under Colonel Champion, had also marched as far as Banaras, to be ready to join the vizier in case of necessity. The dry season was spent by the royal army in reducing the remainder of Zabtah Khan's possessions and part of Rohilcund, the chiefs of which fled for refuge to the hills adjacent, and the principal one, Hafiz Rhamut, repaired to the camp of Shujah ad Dowlah to purchase his protection.

At the approach of the rains, the Mharattas pressed the emperor to canton at Burrelly, the capital of Hafiz Rhamut's country, promising, at the conclusion, to reduce all Rohilcund to the royal authority, and even to attack Shujah ad Dowlah
and

and the English; but Shaw Aulum absolutely declined molesting the vizier or his allies, and insisted on returning to Dhely; to which, much against their wills, they at length consented.

This campaign ended very little to the satisfaction of the emperor, for the Mharattas paid him but little respect, and allowed him scarce any share of the plunder or territory acquired by the war. They also restored to Zabtah Khan his women and children, for a ransom of a lack and half of rupees, which was generously advanced him by Shujah ad Dowlah.

Shaw Aulum, upon his return to Dhely, rewarded the services of his general Nujeef Khan, by the gift of some district which had been abandoned by Zabtah Khan; and established other chiefs in Sarungpore and other pergunnahs taken in the campaign, which had been left to the royal disposal by the Mharattas, who passed the rainy season in the province of Agra, in endeavouring to reduce the Jauts to pay them the choute tribute.

At the conclusion of the rains, the affairs of the emperor assumed a gloomy aspect. His treacherous allies, the Mharattas, whose only object was present gain, having drained Shaw Aulum's treasury, agreed, for a sum of money, to restore to Zabtah Khan the country, for which they had been amply paid by the sovereign, and to give back to the Jauts some districts which had been resigned to the emperor on his first arrival at Dhely. They insolently issued their orders to the royal officers to evacuate their stations, and they were obliged to submit to superior force; so that in a few weeks the unhappy Shaw Aulum found himself without any territory but the ruined capital of Dhely, all besides being sold back into those very hands which had held them previous to his connections with the

Mharattas. The unhappy monarch now experienced, not only loss of territory, but personal indignity from his own troops; who, expelled from the districts on which they had assignments for their pay, crowded to Dhely; and began to be clamorous for their arrears. The emperor had expended his ready money on the Mharattas, the causers of his distress. The minister, Husham ad Dowlah, instead of attempting measures to alleviate the sufferings of his master, endeavoured to turn them to his own advantage, by making them the instrument of ruining Nujeef Khan, of whose growing favour at court he was become jealous. The royal troops were mostly disbanded, on pretence that there was no money to pay them, and Nujeef Khan's corps among the rest. The Mharattas were privately invited by the minister to Dhely. Nujeef Khan, however, was so beloved by his people, who regarded him as of fortunate auspices, that they would not leave him, trusting to happier times for a reward; and many of the chiefs dismissed by the minister embraced his fortunes. Nujeef Khan in vain endeavoured to persuade the emperor to disburse money from his privy purse, and levy troops to prevent the Mharattas from entering Dhely, as the only means to avert his ruin; but Shaw Aulum, having so recently experienced treachery, would not confide in him, and resolved to trust to chance for the decision of his fate. He was at the same time inclined to hope, from the persuasions of Husham ad Dowlah, that the march of the Mharattas was not with offensive designs to the royal power.

At length, the Mharatta army, with the Jauts and Rohillas under Zabtah Khan, arrived near Dhely, and Shaw Aulum, when too late, repented of his neglect of Nujeef Khan; who was now requested to endeavour to save the city. Negotiation was in vain, as the enemy demanded the controul of the emperor's person and the garrison of the palace. Nujeef Khan re-

solved

solved to oppose them. Of the royal troops there only remained the two regular battalions of sepoy's disciplined by the English, and two others armed with muskets. Nujeef Khan had a body of five thousand horse, and a small party of French, who had lately quitted the service of the Jauts. With this force, but ill supplied with ammunition, he marched out of the city, and took post at about two miles distant from it, having the river Jumna on his left, and on his right the old citadel. His rear was defended by the artillery of the city walls. The Mharattas made a general attack, almost as soon as he had formed his line, and were repulsed with loss; but Nujeef Khan imprudently pursuing the enemy, was drawn from his advantageous position, when they rallied, and surrounded him with so superior a body of cavalry, as turned the fortune of the day. Nujeef Khan escaped with great difficulty, after the loss of several of his best officers and a near relation, to the two disciplined battalions, who nobly stood their ground. The French had rashly quitted their post in pursuit, and, after much loss, with the greatest difficulty attained a shelter under the walls of the old citadel. The two battalions sustained repeated charges till night, when the enemy retired; and Nujeef Khan, grown indifferent to life, was with force, by his friends carried into Dhely. He had attempted several times to rush singly on the enemy and court his death. It was said, that this defeat was owing to the treachery of Husham ad Dowlah, who had allowed the Mharattas to pass unmolested under the walls of the city, in the rear of Nujeef Khan. It is certain that the minister was not displeased at the loss of his rival.

The emperor was now obliged to throw himself on the mercy of his enemies. After some days spent in negotiation, the Mharattas encamped nearer the city, and their chiefs, Bissajee and Holkar, with Zabtah Khan, escorted by a large body of troops, made a triumphant entry into the palace, to visit his majesty. They

They advanced upon their elephants to the gate of the public hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the imperial family. Their followers filled the various courts of the palace. They even attempted to penetrate the female apartments, and were prevented only by the intricate windings of the passages from molesting the women, and adding the worst disgrace to fallen royalty. At the gate of the hall of audience the chiefs condescended to alight, and to make the customary obeisances ; but the unfortunate emperor was obliged, at the same time, to descend from his throne, and sit on a small carpet to receive them. Bissajee and Holkar, after some interval, helped him to re-ascend his throne; which he may be said now to have received from their hands. The whole of the interview passed in the most humiliating condescensions of the emperor, and the greatest insolence on the part of the Mharattas. *

After this visit, Hufham ad Dowlah having laid the blame of resistance on Nujeef Khan, and divided a lack of rupees between the two Mharatta chiefs, they, for this trifling sum, agreed to expel his rival from Dhely. A message in the royal name was sent to Nujeef Khan, commanding him to pay money received on the emperor's account, during the last campaign in Rohilcund. Nujeef Khan alleged truly, that he had expended the sum demanded, about * eighty thousand rupees, on his troops ; but his plea was not accepted, and he was threatened with force. By pledging some jewels, plate, and the contributions of friends, he made shift to raise the money, which he paid, but his danger did not end here. He was peremptorily commanded to quit the city, and threatened with force if he did not comply.

Nujeef

* Ten thousand pounds.

Nujeef Khan was now reduced to the last extremity. He saw that nothing but his destruction would satisfy the minister, and was without money for his daily support; but courage, in such distress, did not forsake him or his friends. They collected their women and children into the quarter surrounding his palace, resolving, if forced, to save their honour, by putting them to death, and then seek their own by rushing on the enemy. Bar-ricadoes were formed at the different avenues, defended by artillery. The quarter was surrounded by the minister's troops; who, however, were too cowardly to make an attack. Hushan Dowlah had then recourse to the Mharattas; but they refused sending troops into the city, lest it should occasion a general massacre and pillage. Upon this refusal, the minister obtained from the emperor, (who was inexcusable in granting it,) a letter, written in his own hand, begging their assistance, but in vain; the gallant behaviour of Nujeef Khan having raised sentiments of admiration and compassion in the breast of their chiefs. Hushan dispatched to him his nephew, with solemn assurances of safety and protection, if he would quit Dhely and come to his camp. Nujeef Khan accepted his offer; but first resolved to obtain, if possible, the emperor's dismissal from his own mouth. His progress to the palace was conducted with a solemnity, which evidently proved the love and reverence his followers bore him. He was mounted on horseback, and proceeded slowly through the streets, guarded by his dependants to the number of some thousands, on foot, with drawn sabres, and loaded pieces, exclaiming at intervals, agreeably to the Persian custom at the great mourning on the anniversary of the massacre of their Imaums, "Ya Houssein, Ya Houssein," with doleful cries. On his arrival at the gate of the palace, he sent a request for an interview with the emperor; but it was refused; nor indeed would it have been prudent or safe to grant it, in the present disposition of the injured chief and his followers. From the palace, he marched in the same solemn manner to the Mharatta

Mharatta camp, where he was politely received by Holkar, who, on hearing that he had not eaten for some time for want of necessaries, supplied him with a sum of money. After some conversation, Nujeef Khan returned to the city; from whence, after three days, he departed, with his family and followers, and was received into the service of Holkar, at a salary of * six thousand rupees a day for himself and his corps.

The Mharattas, now obliged the emperor to confer on Zabtah Khan the rank of ameer al amra, and to restore him the grant of almost all the districts, of which he had only a few months before been deprived by their assistance. The Jauts were also reinstated in their possessions, and the Mharattas took to themselves an extensive and fertile tract, lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers; so that Shaw Aulum was left almost destitute of revenue. He was also forced to make presents, and assign over by grant the provinces of Aleabad and Korah to his rapacious allies; which, however, they dared not at present attempt to occupy, through fear of the English, who supported the royal governor, Moneer ad Dowlah.

The Mharattas having plundered Dhely, marched into Rohilcund; but their progress was interrupted by the arrival of Shujah ad Dowlah and an English brigade to the assistance of the Rohillas. After plundering the northern parts, on the appearance of the allied army, they retreated across the Ganges, from the bank of which they fired a few shot on the English line; but their cannon being soon dismounted by the enemy's fire, they retreated towards the Jumna, and shortly after returned to Dekkan, where some dissensions in their own government called for the presence of their chiefs. It is probable, that they had long before resolved

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* Six hundred pounds sterling and upwards.

on a retreat to their own country, and that the necessity of it hastened their treacherous conduct to the emperor; being willing to obtain what they could, from the territories which they were obliged to quit.

Nujeef Khan had, on the near approach of the allied army, taken the opportunity of quitting the service of Holkar, the Mharatta chief, and joining Shujah ad Dowlah, who received him with great kindness, appointed him his deputy in the office of vizier, and sent him back to Dhely, with the most earnest recommendations to the emperor to employ him in the room of Hufham ad Dowlah; and this advice was also seconded by Sir Robert Barker. The vizier now returned into his own dominions, where the English army also cantoned.

Nujeef Khan, on his arrival at Dhely, was received with the warmest caresses by the emperor, now much disgusted with and weary of the conduct of his minister, who had not only occasioned his sufferings from the Mharattas, but had also broken his promise of redeeming some valuable jewels, which had been intrusted to him to pledge during his necessities. Nujeef Khan offered not only to redeem the jewels, but to pay the arrears of the royal troops, grown mutinous, if he would deliver the minister into his hands. Shaw Aulum assented; and the fallen favourite being seized, his effects were confiscated, to the amount of * ten lacks of rupees, little more than a fifth part of which, however, was paid to the emperor, the rest being withheld by Nujeef Khan.

Hufham ad Dowlah had risen to power from a menial situation; not by merit or distinguished abilities, but by making infamous

mous use of his master's foibles, in procuring beautiful women for his pleasures. He was without education, and unable to read or write. His insolence in office was disgusting to all. During his administration he was feared and detested; and his fall was rejoiced at by all ranks. He remained in close confinement nearly two years, when Nujeef Khan not only set him at liberty, but allotted him a liberal pension for his support in private life; in which he has since remained undistinguished.

Nujeef Khan was now appointed second bukhshi, and, at his recommendation, Abdulahud Khan, his friend, third, whom he left to manage affairs with the emperor, while he himself engaged in an expedition against the Jauts, over whom he was successful in a general action. His army consisted of three of the royal battalions, three thousand Rohilla irregular infantry, and about eight thousand horse under various adventurers. It was stipulated, that he should retain half the conquered districts for the support of his dignity and troops, and resign the other to the emperor. Shaw Aulum now obtained repossession of some districts in the vicinity of Dhely, and his affairs began to wear a tolerable aspect.

774. Shujah ad Dowlah was now advanced to Etawa, from whence he had driven the Mharatta garrison, with a considerable army, and was waiting the arrival of an English brigade, to proceed on an expedition against the Rohillas, who had failed in their engagements to pay him forty lacks of rupees for his protection of their country the last year. Here he was visited by Nujeef Khan, who had reduced the city of Agra from the Jauts, and it was agreed, that he should invade the Rohillas on one side, while the vizier and his allies advanced on the other. This point being settled, Nujeef Khan repaired to Dhely.

Shujah ad Dowlah had dispatched his minister Eeruch Khan to the capital, in the beginning of February, to negotiate with the emperor. The minister arrived at court with a considerable force and a large sum of money. With the first he browbeat the royal officers, and with the other bribed largely. He proposed to the emperor to take the field and join in the attack of the Rohillas; on which condition, the vizier promised to pay down immediately ^a two lacks of rupees for the expense of preparation, ^b ten thousand rupees every marching day, and ^c five thousand each halting day. He agreed also to resign half the conquered country to the royal disposal, when he should have paid his engagements with the English for their assistance.

The emperor at first gave his assent; but his inclinations were against aggrandizing his vizier at the expense of the Rohillas, whom, it is said, he informed of the designs against them. He was, however, prevailed upon to march a short distance, and crossing the Jumna, encamped at Shawdirruk, on the eastern bank, pretending to join Shujah ad Dowlah, who was now advanced to Coffy Gunge, within an hundred miles of Dhely. Upon his entering the camp, he received the two lacks of rupees stipulated, and also ^d seventy five thousand during his short stay in the field; but suddenly feigning severe illness, he returned to the palace, and his further march was laid aside. Eeruch Khan, however, by his money, threats, and promises, though he could not draw the emperor to join in the campaign, obtained grants for the vizier of all the Rohilla country, Kinnoje, and Etawa; also of the provinces of Korah and Aleabad, of which he had already received possession.

K k 2

^a Twenty thousand pounds.

^b One thousand pounds.

^c Five hundred pounds.

^d Seven thousand five hundred pounds.

sion from the English; who, as they had in fact procured them for Shaw Aulum, thought themselves entitled to dispose of them again, when he had resigned his claim to the Mharattas. The emperor also, by an instrument in his own hand writing, constituted Shujah ad Dowlah sole arbiter and director of all the royal interests and concerns without exception, even to the remission of the tribute of Bengal. For these concessions, important as they were, Shaw Aulum received only about ^a three lacks and a half of rupees, and a promise from the vizier upon oath, of half the territory of the Rohillas, or an equivalent in the ^b Doaub, more adjacent to the capital; but this condition was never performed, though so solemnly made.

Eeruch Khan also prevailed on the emperor to give Zabtah Khan the farm of the revenues of Mheerut, then in possession of the Mharattas, who were now expelled from it and all the western provinces, except a small territory in Ajmere. The vizier obtained this favour in order to secure Zabtah Khan in his interest, against his own contrymen the Rohillas.

During this negotiation, Nujeeb Khan arrived at Dhely from his visit to Shujah ad Dowlah, and was at first received with great coolness, not undeservedly, for he had neglected the performance of his engagements to resign to the emperor half the conquests from the Jauts, and had refused to admit a royal officer into the command of the citadel of Agra, which he had promised to do when joined by the emperor's battalions; but as Shaw Aulum could not punish his disrespect, he was seemingly reconciled to him, on Nujeeb Khan's making new protestations of loyalty. The imperial troops, however, were no longer allowed to act under his orders.

Towards

^a Thirty five thousand pounds.

^b Country between the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

Towards the end of April 1774, Nujeef Khan marched from Dhely to join Shujah ad Dowlah; who with his allies the English, had defeated the Rohillas in a general engagement, in which Hafiz Rhamut, the leading chief being killed, the others fled for refuge to the hills, leaving their country an easy prey to the vizier; who took possession of all Rohilcund, except the districts of Rampore, which were granted in jaghire to Fyzoollah Khan, at the mediation of the English, upon his submission to the vizier. Zabtah Khan also joined Shujah ad Dowlah; but being greatly in arrear to the royal treasury for the revenue of his country, Shaw Aulum, in his absence, detached a force, who expelled his collectors from Mheerut and other districts without opposition.

The emperor's affairs, though far from brilliant, yet, by the addition of territory taken from Zabtah Khan, assumed a comfortable aspect; and had he joined Shujah ad Dowlah, it is probable he would have obtained some further acquisition; but he was diverted from it by the acting minister Abdulahud Khan, who feared his own influence would be lost in the superior consequence of the vizier: nor was this the first time that Shaw Aulum suffered by sacrificing to the self-interest of a favourite.

Nujeef Khan, after performing what was required of him in the Rohilla war, returned to Dhely, reinforced by some troops lent him by Shujah ad Dowlah, who heartily forwarded his advancement, and, it is said, recommended him to remove Abdulahud Khan from the emperor. The minister, suspecting the design against him, was on his guard, and would not move from the citadel; till at length Nujeef Khan finding Shaw Aulum much averse to the removal of the favourite, and his march from Dhely on his own affairs becoming urgent, he assented

assented to his remaining in office, and a seeming reconciliation took place.

Not long after this, Shaw Aulum received an offer from Caufim Alee Khan, the fugitive navob of Bengal, who had come from Jeypore to the neighbourhood of Dhely, of seven lacks of rupees for the office held by Abdulahud Khan; but that minister, having intelligence of his schemes, procured an order to force him from the royal domains. It is suspected, that the emperor would have accepted the proposal, could he have done it without danger; but it is certain, that he strongly denied having listened to it, and laid the blame upon some of his servants, who were immediately dismissed, at the request of Abdulahud Khan. Caufim Alee died shortly after, at an obscure village near Dhely, unpitied even by his own family, for not even misfortune could soften the cruelty of his mind. He had been accompanied in his flight by several faithful dependants; but they were almost all in the end obliged to abandon him, his causeless jealousy of their sincerity exposing them to constant personal danger. Upon his escape from Shujah ad Dowlah at the battle of Buxar, he first retired into the Rohilla country, where he found a comfortable asylum; but his intrigues rendering him disagreeable to the chief under whose protection he resided, he was obliged to leave it, and took shelter with the rana of Ghoed. After some years residence in his country, he proceeded to Jodepore, and from thence came to try his fortune in the service of the emperor, in which he met with the disappointment related. Caufim Alee Khan certainly possessed abilities. He would have been a serviceable minister to a prince within the line of finance; but for a sovereign station he was unfit, being cruel, meanly suspicious, and pusillanimous. In his prosperity, he forgot the friends who had given it him; and in his adverse fortune, he illused those who shared it with him. The

* Capital of the Marwar Rajaship.

English, deceived by his elegance of manners, which he possessed in a very eminent degree, and convinced of his skill in the finances of Bengal, (which province and its dependancies had fallen to their disposal, by the chance of war and inability of Meer Jaffier,) chose him for his successor; and from that instant he became their enemy, and impatient to cut off the hands which had exalted him. His jealousy of the English was not that of a great mind; which cannot bear an equal, but of a low cunning, feeling itself incapable of returning confidence for confidence, and therefore desirous of burying obligation in the destruction of his patrons. Had this not been the case, he would have relied on the promises of Mr. Vansittart, whose nobility of sentiment and liberality of heart were fully known to him, for the arrangement of connection between him and the English: but the wickedness of his own mind made him suspect others, and he fell deservedly from his high station.^a

About this time, Sumroo, the bloody agent of Caufim Alee's cruelty at Patna, having left the service of the Jauts, came to Dhely, and was entertained by the minister; but at the expiration of four months, Abdulahud Khan, fearful of exciting the resentment of the English, discharged him, and he was immediately retained by Nujeeb Khan, though he had remonstrated to the emperor on the impropriety of his accepting his services.

It may not be improper in this place to mention some particulars of Sumroo. His real name was Walter Reinehard, and he was of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Treves. He entered early as a common soldier into the service of the French, taking for his *Nom de Guerre*, Summer, which his comrades, from his saturnine complexion, turned into Sombre, and the Indians, by corruption, Sumroo. At length he repaired to Bengal,

Bengal, and enlisted into one of the Swiss companies then employed at Calcutta; but at the end of eighteen days deserted to the French at Chandernagore, where he became a serjeant. Deserting this post, he fled into the upper provinces, and was for some time a private trooper in the cavalry of Suffder Jung, father to Shujah ad Dowlah. This service he quitted, and led a vagabond life in different provinces; but in 1760 was with the rebel sojedaur of Purnea. Upon his being expelled from Bengal, Sumroo left him, and entered into the service of Gregory, an Armenian, then in high favour with Causim Alee, and distinguished by the title of Goorgeen Khan. From him he had the command of a battalion of sepoys, and afterwards obtained from the navob the addition of another. In this station he massacred the English captives at Patna. Some time previous to the battle of Buxar, he treacherously deserted Causim Alee with his corps, and embraced the service of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had gained him over by bribes. Upon his defeat at Buxar, he was entrusted with the protection of the Begums, and remained with the vizier till he had made peace with the English; when, fearful of being delivered up to them, he retired to Agra, and entered into the pay of the Jaut raja, Jowahir Sing; but quitted him for the service of the raja of Jeypore, who soon dismissed him on a remonstrance from the English general. He then again served the Jauts; quitted them once more, and came to Dhely; from whence, as related, he followed the fortunes of Nujeef Khan, in whose service he died. Such are the outlines of the fortune of this man, who had some merit as a soldier, but wholly obscured by a treacherous and blood-thirsty disposition. His corps was continued after his death, in the name of his son and a favourite concubine, who received for their maintenance the sum of *sixty five thousand rupees per month.

* Six thousand five hundred pounds.

Towards,

SHAW AULUM THE SECOND.

Towards the latter end of the year 1774, Zabtah Khan, at the recommendation of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had deprived him of his territories east of the Ganges, notwithstanding his professions of friendship before the defeat of the Rohillas, was, to make some amends for the disappointment, called to Dhely, and restored to his farm of Mheerut and other districts, on condition of paying a revenue of nine lacks of rupees to the royal treasury.

In the month of January 1775, died the vizier Shujah ad Dowlah, in the midst of his victories and highest prosperity. He had planned the extension of his dominions over all the territory usurped by the Mharattas in the provinces of Malwa, Agra, and Bondelcund; and, had he lived a few years longer, there is little doubt, but that with the assistance of the English, he would have confined the Poonah government to their possessions south of the Nerbudda river; which would have been a blessing to the distracted empire of the Mahummedans in Hindoostan. In the early part of his life he was vain, and addicted to pleasure, for which he too much neglected public business; but on the recovery of his dominions after the battle of Buxar, he shewed that adversity had been to him a serviceable tutor, by bringing forth the better qualities of his mind into action. As a prince, he was wise, and dignified in character; as a private man, affable, humane and generous. In a situation, where the attainment of a splendid object too generally palliates the means of pursuit, however treacherous, and in a country where arts, common to all, are unhappily necessary for self-defence, his policy was less marked with blood than that of most princes who are esteemed in Hindoostan as deserving general applause. By his own subjects he was sincerely beloved; and even the sons of Hafiz Rhamut, whose country he had seized, wept at his death. Had he been placed among a

VOL. II. L I virtuous.

virtuous people, he might have been a virtuous prince; and among those he was obliged to govern and contend with, he was eminently superior in every good quality.*

Shujah ad Dowlah was succeeded in territory by his eldest son, Afoph ad Dowlah; and upon his presenting a peshcush, or offering, and sending a general with five thousand men and some artillery to attend the emperor, was invested also with the office of vizier.

5. The troops sent by Afoph ad Dowlah reached Dhely at a time, important even to the personal safety of Shaw Aulum, the royal army having been just defeated by Zabtah Khan, who had refused paying the revenues of the districts of which he had the collection, and taken up arms to support his disobedience. The arrival of the vizier's troops alone prevented him from becoming master of Dhely and the fate of his sovereign. Zabtah Khan, however, by the mediation of Luttafut, Afoph ad Dowlah's general, who was bribed largely on the occasion, was again pardoned, his arrears remitted, and re-appointed to the trusts he had betrayed, Shaw Aulum having not resolution or power to refuse his assent.

7. This year the emperor, assisted by Nujeef Khan, who had completed his conquests over the Jauts, marched once more against Zabtah Khan, who had again rebelled. The greatest part of his country was taken, but little advantage accrued to Shaw Aulum, most of the recovered districts being given by the general as securities for pay to the chiefs of different corps. The emperor kept the field from April to December; when, weary of being led as a pageant by Nujeef Khan, who only used his authority

* An account of Shujah ad Dowlah's warfare with the English is given in the history of Bengal, in this volume.

authority to aggrandize himself, he returned in disgust to Dhely, and Nujeef Khan repaired to Agra, of which province he was now master, and kept up only a nominal allegiance to his sovereign.

No remarkable event occurred in the emperor's concerns till the conclusion of the rains this year; when some proposals being made by a Raajepoote chief, then at war with Nujeef Khan, the minister, ^a Muid ad Dowlah, thinking them favourable to his views of humbling the latter, persuaded Shaw Aulum to take the field, under a pretence of a pilgrimage to ^b Ajmere, to cover the real object of the expedition from Nujeef Khan. The emperor, accordingly, moved by slow marches to Narnoul, about fifty coss from Dhely, which he reached near the close of the year. By this time, the raja, to assist whom the campaign was made, being taken prisoner, Muid ad Dowlah changing his object, employed the royal force to share the advantages of his destruction with Nujeef Khan. Several districts were seized, and the minister now thought seriously of leading his master to Ajmere, and exacting a tribute from the raja of Jeypore in the route. Nujeef Khan was summoned to attend the royal standard, though, probably, his presence was not desired by Muid ad Dowlah. In January 1779, the royal army arrived near Jeypore, and the minor raja, lately acceded to the musnud by the death of his uncle, was summoned to attend the emperor. The regent was embarrassed how to act; not chusing to trust the royal minister, who had taken many of the Raajepoote chiefs, his enemies, into pay; nor did he wish to exasperate the emperor by disrespect. In this dilemma, he sought the patronage of Nujeef Khan, who willingly gave it him, being

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desirous

^a Abdulahud Khan, who had received this title, signifying, Exalter of the state.

^b At this city is the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan saint.

desirous of depriving Mujd ad Dowlah of the credit and advantage of an influence in Jeypore, on which he had views of his own. The minister was amused, by promises from the regent of coming to an interview, till Nujeef Khan joined the royal camp, when the raja declared his wishes of having him only for his mediator with the emperor. Mujd ad Dowlah dared not refuse, as Nujeef Khan was superior in force; and Shaw Aulum consented from the same cause. Eight lacks of rupees were settled for the offering, of which two only were paid to the royal treasury; but Nujeef Khan obtained a much larger sum, besides the advantage which the credit of his superiority over Mujd ad Dowlah gave him in the eyes of the Raajepootes. Nor was this all; the districts taken by the royal army being resigned to him and his friends, for which he gave up a tract near Dhely, less convenient and beneficial to his government. At his request, the pilgrimage was laid aside, and the emperor returned to his capital after a tiresome campaign; which had only served to bring fresh insults on his authority, from the weakness of Mujd ad Dowlah and the ingratitude of Nujeef Khan.

9. The royal army had scarce returned to Dhely, when the minister again resolved to take the field, and prevailed on the emperor to send with him his second son, the prince * Ferkhundeh Akhter. Great preparations were made, which took up several months, and excited the attention of the public. Various were the reports of his intentions. At one time, it was supposed he had entered into negotiations of alliance with the Mharattas, who had defeated the English army from Bombay, and threatened to attack them in Oude and Bengal. At another, it was rumoured that the royal army was to be joined by the Sikhs, and to fall on Nujeef Khan for his neglect of the emperor. At length,

* Of auspicious stars.

length, in the month of June 1779, Muid ad Dowlah with his royal pupil moved from Dhely, and advanced to Panniput, with six battalions of sepoys armed in the European manner, a considerable train of artillery, six thousand horse, eight thousand irregular infantry, and some bands of mercenary Sikhs; so that, in point of numbers, his army was formidable, and, with conduct on his part, equal to the conquests of the petty chiefs in his route, whom he might chuse to attack. On his march he seized a zemindar, named Daissoo Sing, from whom he exacted about two lacks of rupees, and then proceeded towards Puttiala, the residence of Amer Sing, ninety coss north-west of Dhely, who had usurped a considerable territory. He was commanded to join the royal army, and pay a compensation for the revenue of the country; which at first he promised, and a negotiation was begun to settle the sum; but the wily zemindar was insincere, and only wanted to gain time, till he should be assisted by the Sikhs from the province of Lahore, who had promised to protect him, as his reduction would have exposed them to invasion from the royal army. After some days, Amer Sing, joined by many of his allies, threw off the mask, and the Sikhs in the service of the minister deserted to him, not chusing to fight against their brethren. Muid ad Dowlah, instead of acting with resolution, would not try the event of persistence in his demands, but began his retreat towards Panniput; to which place he was followed by Amer Sing and the Sikhs, who harassed his line of march daily, and plundered his baggage, but could make no impression on the main body of his army; a proof that had he acted vigorously, a different fate would have attended his expedition.

The emperor, alarmed at the retreat of his minister, and dreading the event of the army coming to Dhely and demanding their arrears of pay, wrote pressingly to Nujeef Khan, imploring

ploring his assistance, and desiring him to take the administration of affairs upon himself. Nujeef Khan, who had long wished for such an opportunity of running the minister, and had, it is said, privately negotiated with the Siks and Amer Sing, hastened to Dhely with his army. Muid ad Dowlah, upon his arrival at the capital, was disgraced and committed to the custody of his rival, who confiscated the greatest part of his effects, a share of which he gave up to the emperor.

From this period till the death of Nujeef Khan, Shaw Aulum remained under his controul, a pensioner on his bounty, without the least power of royalty beyond the granting of empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his minister; who so abused his authority, that the wretched emperor frequently wanted for conveniences, and the women of the haram, and numerous confined personages of the blood-royal, often the common necessities of life.

Nujeef Khan was now at the height of his power and ambition, possessing the sole authority at Dhely, with the greatest part of that province, and the very extensive one of Agra, together with that capital. The raja of Jeypore, and several other Hindoo princes also were his tributaries. Next to the vizier, he was the first officer of the empire, being appointed ameer al amra, with the title of 'Zoolfeccar ad Dowlah. After his arrival at Dhely, he lost the energy of his former character, and indulged in voluptuousness so much, that it injured his constitution; which he strove to repair for the gratification of appetite, by stimulating confections. These soon brought on a complication of disorders, which put an end to his life on the twenty second of April, 1782, in the forty ninth year of his age.

• Sword of the state. Nujeef

Nujeef Khan was born in Persia, of a family said to be related to the Suffewee sovereigns of that empire; and in his infancy was, with many of his relations, a prisoner to the usurper Nadir Shaw, who kept all the personages, any way allied to the throne, in confinement for his own security. At the request of Meerza Mhofun, the brother of Suffder Jung, who was sent on an embassy to Nadir by Mahummud Shaw, after his invasion of Hindoostan, Nujeef Khan and a sister much older than himself were released. The lady married her deliverer, and Nujeef Khan accompanied her and her husband to Dhely. He was treated with parental affection by Meerza Mhofun, and at his death attached himself to Mahummud Koollee Khan, his son, the governor of Aleabad, who was shortly after seized and put to death by his first cousin, Shujah ad Dowlah, he being jealous of his ambitious views in assisting Shaw Aulum in the invasion of Bengal, and regarding Aleabad as his right, it having been given only in deputation by his father, the vizier Suffder Jung, to Mahummud Koollee Khan, who had refused to surrender it to the son. Nujeef Khan, upon this event, retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered his services to the navob Meer Caufim, then at war with the English, who gave him great encouragement. When Meer Caufim took refuge with Shujah ad Dowlah, Nujeef Khan, not chusing to trust himself in the power of the latter, repaired to Bondelcund, and served Gomaun Sing; one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Shujah ad Dowlah, after the battle of Buxar, he offered his services to the English, representing himself as the rightful lord of the province of Aleabad, was received with respectful welcome, and even put into possession of a part of it; but when peace was concluded with the vizier, the English, discovering the falsehood of his claim, set it aside, and rewarded his attachment with a pension of two lacks of rupees and strong recommendations to the emperor. The recompense was greater than

than his merits with the English, as he had kept up a correspondence with Shujah ad Dowlah, whom he would have joined, had he been successful in the battle of Korah. From Aleabad he accompanied Shaw Aulum to Dhely, where the various turns of his fortune have been already related in the preceding pages.

Nujeef Khan possessed great personal courage, and a fortitude and presence of mind not to be overcome by the greatest distress, or the most sudden misfortune. His affability of manners was such, as to charm even hunger to be patient in his service, and overcome the mutinous resolutions of his troops, often driven to extreme necessity for want of regular pay. He was once, after the reduction of a capital fortress from the Jauts, (from which his army had hoped to receive the advantage of a liquidation of their long arrears) seized upon by the troops, menaced with death, and exposed bare-headed for a whole day to the sun, in the hottest season of Hindoostan; a most severe punishment. But this, and the apprehensions of immediate death, did not move the calmness of his mind. He soothed the most morose of the mutineers with his eloquence, and diverted them from their purpose by his humorous remarks upon his own situation and their conduct; till, at length, they were contented with a part of their demands, and continued to serve him in hopes of better times. It is said, that no person ever went away dissatisfied from Nujeef Khan, who, if he could not grant a request, would convince the petitioner of his sorrow at his being obliged to refuse it. His expenses always exceeded his income, and this obliged him to mortgage his revenues in assignment to the officers of his army for pay; so that his country was never completely settled under his own controul, but always passing from one chief to another, who made his own statement with the farmers. As he never refused offers of service from any military adventurers, this evil continually

tinually encreased, and he did not live long enough after his conquests to correct the abuse by a settled form of government, and a reduction of force adequate to his finances. It is probable, had Nujeef Khan been placed at the head of an established government, he would have been an amiable and great prince; and in the situation he filled, his character draws admiration,* when his disadvantages are liberally considered.

Upon the death of Nujeef Khan, the illconstructed fabric of his government soon fell to pieces from the dissensions of his adherents; while Shaw Aulum, as usual, sanctified from necessity the actions of the successful party. Affrafiaub Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, was first appointed ameer al amra; and, at his request, Mujd ad Dowlah released from confinement; but his power did not last long. Nujeef Khan's sister, who had great influence with the army, being disgusted at his behaviour, invited Meerza Shuffee Khan, a near relation of her own, to Dhely, and offered him the infant daughter of her deceased brother in marriage; also, to procure for him, from the emperor the administration of affairs, and the honours of Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee, who was then on an expedition against the Siks to the northward of the capital, readily embraced the Begum's invitation, and repaired to court; which Affrafiaub Khan deserted on his approach, leaving Mujd ad Dowlah and ^bNujeef Koollee Khan to oppose him. It would appear that Shaw Aulum was unwilling to grant Meerza Shuffee the administration of affairs,
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* Nujeef Khan, in palliating the delays of payment to his troops, was often obliged to make excuses not consistent with truth. An officer one day told him he had met fifty carriages coming to the camp; and What were their contents? said Nujeef Khan. Lies for your use in this campaign, returned the officer. A poor supply, indeed, replied Nujeef Khan; they will scarce equal the disbursement of a single day.

^b Also an adopted son of Nujeef Khan's.

for he did not admit him to the presence till he had seized the two chiefs above-mentioned, when, unable to refuse his demands, he appointed him ameer al amra.

Meerza Shuffee having thus forced himself into office, treated Shaw Aulum with little respect; and the oppressed monarch, weary of the indignities daily offered him, made an attempt to free himself from his controul, and restore Affrafioub Khan. Monsieur Pawly, who commanded Sumroo's battalions, and Lutafut, a eunuch, at the head of a considerable body of sepoys, with other chiefs, were drawn over from the interest of Meerza Shuffee by Mahummud Yacoob Khan, the emperor's confidant. They assembled suddenly under arms at the palace, where Shaw Aulum putting himself at their head, marched towards the residence of Meerza Shuffee, intending to seize his person. The ameer al amra endeavoured to draw out his followers, but they refused to act, and he with difficulty made his escape from the city. Shaw Aulum, satisfied with his expulsion, declined pursuing the fugitive; though his eldest son, the prince Jehaundar Shaw, represented justly, that unless his person and that of the Begum were secured, and their wealth seized, the royal intentions would be left uncompleted, as Meerza Shuffee would be joined by his troops when recovered from the panic which the suddenness of this attempt had inspired. To account for the inaction of the emperor at this crisis, is impossible. It can only be supposed, that he dreaded treachery from the chiefs who had advised him to expel the minister.

Meerza Shuffee, as had been foretold by the prince, was rejoined by most of the troops, and assisted by Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee, a powerful chief of the late Nujeef Khan, returned towards Dhely, resolved to force the emperor to restore him to office.

Monfieur Pawly and Luttafut, upon intelligence of this junction, prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to encamp at Khizzerabad, a fhort diftance from Dhely, intending to make a ftand againft the enemy; but Meerza Shuffee offering to make conceffions to his majefty, a negotiation commenced, and Pawly and Luttafut were invited to a meeting with the rebels, in order to fettle the terms of their fubmiffion to the emperor, but in fact of his to them.

The prince Jehaundar Shaw now again cautioned his father againft making terms with the rebels; but in vain. In his narrative, given by himfelf to Mr. Haftings, he fays; “ I from
“ loyalty obferved, that in fuch quarrels there was no room
“ for peace; that the force with his majefty was more than
“ equal to crush them.”

Pawly and Luttafut declined following the advice of the prince, accepted the invitation of Meerza Shuffee Khan, and, upon entering his camp, were taken prifoners. The former was put to death, and the latter punifhed by the lofs of his eyes. Meerza Shuffee now exacted what demands he pleafed from Shaw Aulum, who re-appointed him ameer al amra, and, at his recommendation, Mujd ad Dowlah, who had found means to make his peace, was once more reftored to his office of ^bdewan of the khalfch.

Soon after this commotion, Meerza Shuffee, leaving Mujd ad Dowlah to act for him with the emperor, marched from Dhely to reftore order in the province of Agra, and took with him Meerza Soleymaun Shekoh, one of the princes, to add dignity to his operations. Shaw Aulum was left in the poffeffion of the lands allotted for the fupport of his houfehold by the late

M m 2

Nujeef

* Director of the revenue fet apart for the fupport of the houfehold.

Nujeef Khan; so that, considering the part he had taken against his minister, that chief did not act ungenerously towards him. Affrafiaub Khan, who had marched to take advantage of the designs in his favour, politically kept at a distance, till convinced of the superiority of Meerza Shuffee; when he joined him, and was left unmolested in possession of the districts allotted him under the late Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee was not a man calculated to retrieve the disorder which had occurred in affairs since the death of his predecessor. He was destitute of that address and affability of manner, by which Nujeef Khan had attached to himself the officers of his army, each of whom considered himself as independent. Mahummud Beg Khan Hammadaunee in particular, who had so greatly assisted in establishing him in power, was disgusted at the superiority he assumed over him, and with his refusal of some additional districts which he demanded. The Begum also, sister of Nujeef Khan, was displeased with him for not allowing her that influence in government which she had enjoyed in the lifetime of her brother. The short period of his administration passed in constant quarrels with his officers; and at length Mahummud Beg, who regarded not by what means he forwarded his views, resolved to remove him by treachery. For this purpose, he pretended a wish to reconcile their differences, by an amicable adjustment, and requested an interview, to which Meerza Shuffee Khan assented. They met before the fortress of Deeg, on the thirtieth of September, 1783, each attended by an army, and Meerza Shuffee was stabbed by Ismaeel Beg, the brother of Mahummud, while he was embracing him. An engagement between the two armies followed, and Mahummud Beg was driven from the field with some loss. Affrafiaub Khan was declared successor to the murdered nabob, by the sister Begum and the army, and was shortly after confirmed

firmed by the emperor in the office of ameer al amra and the government of the provinces of Dhely and Agra. Mahummud Beg, however, refused to acknowledge his authority, levied troops to oppose him, and committed depredations in several districts. Affrasiub, finding himself unequal to support his power alone, endeavoured to procure the assistance of his neighbours, the navob vizier and the English, or the Mharattas. In this unsettled state of affairs, the prince Jechaundar Shaw, in April 1784, made his escape from Dhely, and repaired to Lucnow, where Mr. Hastings had arrived to regulate the concerns between the vizier and the company. His highness's object was, to procure a force to free his father the emperor from the controul in which he was kept by Affrasiub Khan, and to oblige him to allot a portion of the revenues for the support of the royal dignity. He declared, that his escape was with the private concurrence of his father, and most probably with truth, though publickly Shaw Aulum demanded his being sent back a prisoner to Dhely, obliged to it through fear of his minister. Mr. Hastings was too generous to obey commands, which, if complied with, would have sacrificed an unfortunate prince to life imprisonment, if not assassination. Though restricted by his employers from taking an active part in the royal affairs, he hoped, by protecting the prince, to persuade Affrasiub to shew proper respect to the imperial family; and his plan in some measure succeeded. The ameer al amra sent major Brown, the English resident at Dhely, to Lucnow, with offers to comply with any terms the navob vizier and Mr. Hastings should stipulate for the advantage of the emperor; and agreed to act under the prince as minister, provided they would support him with some troops against Mahummud Beg and other refractory chiefs; representing, that if they could not grant that condition, he must seek an alliance with Sindia, the Mharatta chief, who was ready to enter the country. Mr. Hastings was unable to furnish troops,
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the council of Bengal refusing to take any active part beyond the frontiers of the vizier; and Affrasiaub, consequently, made his alliance with Sindia.

Previous to the return of major Brown from Lucnow, Affrasiaub, jealous of Mijad ad Dowlah, whom he had left to manage the affairs of the royal household, confined that minister, and prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to march to Agra, by promises of giving up that city with the fortresses to his disposal. The emperor, flattered by the hopes of acquiring more power, or intimidated by the confinement of his old adviser, Mijad ad Dowlah, left Dhely, and arrived at Agra in October 1784; when the golden keys of the citadel were presented to him by Affrasiaub, and he had the satisfaction of being called King of the World, in the palace of his ancestor, the renowned Akber; but it was garrisoned by the troops of the minister. Mr. Hastings had by this time departed from Lucnow, and was accompanied by the prince to Banaras, which he chose for his residence, not thinking it safe to trust his person with Affrasiaub or Sindia; a recommendation to whom of his interests, was now the only service that the English could afford him beyond their own territories. He had an allowance of five lacks of rupees per annum from the nabob vizier, and wisely resolved to wait for better times. Shaw Aulum remained in the hands of his minister.

On the twenty second of October 1784, Affrasiaub had an interview with his new ally Mahajee Sindia; when it was agreed, that they should jointly attack Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee; but their plans were frustrated by an unfortunate event. On Tuesday, the second of November, Affrasiaub Khan was assassinated

* Fifty thousand pounds. This allowance was given at the earnest request of Mr. Hastings.

ated by a soldier, said to be employed by Zien-al-aub-ad-Dien the brother of the late Meerza Shuffec Khan, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunce, who dreaded the power which Sindia's alliance would give to the object of their hatred. This event occasioned a new revolution in affairs, by transferring the authority of the Moguls to the Mharattas.

Sindia, by presents of some money, promises of obedience, and a regular allowance for the royal household, prevailed on Shaw Aulum to come to his camp, and bestow upon the ^a peshwa the office of vaqueel muttulluk, or sole director of the empire, with the deputation of this employment to himself. Under this grant, he claimed the command of the army of the unfortunate Affrasiub, and the governments of Agra and Dhely. As he was at the head of a large body of Mharattas, and the Mogul chiefs could not agree among themselves in the choice of a successor, he easily effected his designs. The different officers of corps made their own terms with Sindia, pretending to obey the orders of the emperor; and Mahummud Beg also acknowledged his authority. Shujah Dil Khan, the father in law of Affrasiub, gave up the fortress of Agra, after a short siege, for a jaghire, and assurances of a provision for the son of the deceased, his grandson, an infant, named Khadim Housfein Khan. Shaw Aulum was now permitted to return to Dhely. Sixty thousand rupees per month were settled by Sindia for his support; but a body of Mharattas was stationed with him, to prevent him encouraging any other power; so that, in fact, he was only a state prisoner in the hands of Sindia.

Shaw Aulum did not remain long at Dhely, being again requested by Sindia to take the field, to sanction, by his appearance, the capture of Aleeghur, the residence of the Begum of

^a Chief minister of the Mharatta state.

of Affrasiab Khan. Jehaungeer Khan, the governor, after some time, submitted. By the fall of Aleeghur, the authority of Sindia was established in all the territories which had belonged to the late ameer al amra, Nujeeb Khan. He now demanded tribute from several rajas, and among them from the raja of Jeypore, towards whose country he marched with the emperor. Negotiation and threatenings employed several months, till the approach of the rainy season of 1786, when Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, and Sindia with his army cantoned at Muttra. The acquisitions of the Mharattas, by their interference with the Moguls, were however more splendid than useful; the provinces of Dhely and Agra being exhausted of revenue by the oppressions of the late contending chiefs; so that Sindia began to find himself in a troublesome situation. Long arrears were due to the troops, and his resources were unequal to his disbursements.

Towards the latter end of the year 1787, a considerable body of Mharattas, under Royjee Pateel, who had been sent to collect a tribute from the raja of Jeypore, being defeated, Sindia marched with his whole army into that country, and advanced within a short distance of the capital. The raja, being assisted by the chief of Jodepore and other allies, distressed his enemy by cutting off his supplies; so that both Mharattas and Moguls became discontented, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee with his followers deserted to the raja. In this conjuncture, Sindia resolved to make a push, lest the defection should become general. A severe action took place, and Mahummud Beg was slain; but the valour and conduct of his brother Ismaeel Beg restored the courage of the troops, which had given way from the loss of their chief, and victory declared for the Raajepootes. Three days after this event, Sindia was deserted by the disciplined battalions of sepoys, who went over to Ismaeel Beg.

Beg. This misfortune was followed by repeated defeats, which obliged him to retreat with precipitation across the Chumbul, to the neighbourhood of Gualior, and quit for the present all offensive operations; leaving garrisons in the citadel of Agra and fortress of Aleeghur, in hopes of their holding out till he could obtain reinforcements from Dekkan. Deeg and some other places he gave up to the Jaut raja, Runjeet Sing, to whom they originally belonged, that he might keep up an interest among the natives of the country.

The evacuation of the provinces of Dhely and Agra by the Mharatta army, occasioned a sad change in the royal affairs. Shaw Aulum, the pageant of every successful party, marched from Dhely at the invitation of the raja of Jeypore, who advanced within three days' journey of the capital to pay his respects; but whether he was unwilling to engage in the administration of the royal concerns, intimidated by fears of the return of the Mharattas, or resolved only to act for the preservation of his own country, he in a short time obtained his dismissal, and withdrew to his own territories. Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, where he hoped to remain secure, and unengaged with party, till Sindia's return with a reinforcement, or a decided superiority of his enemies. Unhappy indeed was his situation, and hard the part he had to act. In the hands of a Mharatta garrison in his capital, and depending for support on Sindia, he was obliged, at the same time, to lend his name to his enemy Ismaeel Beg; who, after defeating the Mharattas in the field, had taken several places from them, and laid siege to Agra, under pretence of the imperial orders.

At this crisis started up a new adventurer, the most fatal one of any to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. * Gholaum Kaudir Khan,
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* This chief was son and successor to Zabtah Khan, often mentioned in the

Khan, a Rohilla chief, hoping to acquire power in the distracted state of affairs, marched suddenly from his residence of Ghoseghur, and appeared before Dhely, which the Mharatta garrison evacuated on his approach. He obliged the emperor to confer on him the dignity of ameer al amra; after which he moved to lay siege to the fortress of Aleeghur, where Sindia had left a garrison.

The prince Jahaundar Shaw, who had resided since the year 1784 at Banaras, under the English protection, was at this time also resolved to try his fortune in the troubles. He marched to Dhely, and was joined on his route by some thousands of adventurers. On his arrival at the capital he was received with much favour by his father, who empowered him to direct the operations of Gholam Kadir Khan; and the prince, after obtaining the release of his women and children, who had been confined since his flight, repaired to the siege of Aleeghur. He was soon disgusted with the brutal disrespect of the Rohilla, and repaired to Agra, in hopes of finding a better servant in Ismaeel Beg, but was disappointed. The money he had brought with him from Banaras being exhausted, his followers became clamorous for pay, and the unhappy prince at length was obliged to divide among them his effects. Not chusing to return to Dhely, lest the influence of his brother Akber Shaw, the favourite son of Shaw Aulum, should prevail on his father to confine him in his unprotected state, he threw himself again on the generosity of the English. They again received him, and he repaired once more to Banaras, but did not long survive his return. About a week after his arrival he was seized with a putrid fever, occasioned by exposing himself for some hours to a burning sun in a visit of devotion to the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan saint at Chunar, and died on the thirty first of May, 1788, after an illness of
little

SHAW AULUM THE SECOND.

little more than twenty four hours. He was buried with every honour due to his rank; the English resident and principal people of the city attending his funeral. He left behind him three sons, whom, with the rest of his family, he recommended to the care of the English, under whom they enjoy a comfortable asylum and allowance at Banaras.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on the fall of Aleeghur, marched to join Ismaeel Beg in the siege of Agra; but they soon disagreeing, he left him to make conquests for himself in other parts of the country. By this time Sindia had received some succours from Dekkan, and dispatched his confidential minister, Rana Khan, with the Jaut rajah, Runjeet Sing, to raise the siege of Agra, near which a bloody battle was fought on the sixteenth of June, 1788, in which Ismaeel Beg was compleatly defeated, with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He made his escape with much difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna, and reached the camp of Gholaum Kaudir Khan; but, not finding a kind reception, in a few days he retired to Shekohabad, where he was respectfully treated by Illummas Alee Khan, a collector of the navob vizier, who presented him with the sum of ^a twenty thousand rupees. Being here joined by about fifteen hundred of his routed cavalry, and receiving letters from Gholaum Kaudir Khan, assuring him of future friendship, and apologizing for his late neglect, he repaired to his camp. The rajas of Jeypore and Jodepore, whose interest it was to keep up an enemy to the Mharattas, now sent him a sum of money, which enabled him to receive numbers of his followers, who returned to his standard. An invitation was sent him by the navob Nazir, and the few chiefs with Shaw Aulum to march to Dhely, which he accepted of; but, on his arrival near the city, the emperor, who wished to avoid offending Sindia by receiving

ceiving his enemy, refused to admit him, and sent him orders to retire. Ismaeel Beg pretended to obey, but did not move, waiting the arrival of Gholaum Kaudir Khan, who was on his march to the capital, with the intention of forcing Shaw Aulum to give up his connection with the Mharattas. To this he was instigated by the navob Nazir and other officers, who, having offended Sindia, dreaded his displeasure, should the emperor fall again into his hands. The supineness of the Mharattas after their defeat of Ismaeel Beg, is not to be accounted for. Instead of marching immediately to Dhely, Sindia only advanced to Muttra; so that the unfortunate Shaw Aulum was left exposed to the treachery of his servants, and, in the end, to dethronement, plunder, and loss of fight.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on his arrival opposite Dhely, requested the emperor to admit him into the city, but was refused; upon which he resolved to enter it by force; and, having brought over Ismaeel Beg to his views, crossed the Jumna in the night, with a part of his army. Raja Himmutee Bahadur, and the few Mharattas in the place, fled immediately, and the Mogul chiefs, with their followers in the emperor's service, joined Ismaeel Beg; so that the unhappy Shaw Aulum, unable to resist, was obliged to open the gates of the citadel, and receive the rebels. They were introduced by the navob Nazir, who answered for their fidelity to his majesty, and that they would free him from the controul of the Mharattas, and the disgrace of depending for a support on infidels and natural enemies to the faithful. Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, falling at the emperor's feet, assured him, their only object was his honour, and the expulsion of the Mharattas; which they promised to effect, if one of the princes was permitted to accompany them to the field. A treaty was then drawn up, and solemnly ratified by oaths in one of the mosques in the palace, by which it was stipulated, that Shaw Aulum should receive

receive a third part of the revenues for the support of his dignity. The emperor then committed his son Soleymaun Shekkoh to their care, and a day was fixed for his march against the Mharattas; but this adjustment was deceitful. In a few days, Gholaum Kaudir demanded a large sum of money to pay the troops, which Shaw Aulum refused; and the Rohilla resolved to possess himself of whatever treasure might be in the palace, by dethroning the emperor. To this resolve he was excited by the treacherous navob ^a Nazir, who, forgetting thirty years of confidence and favour, had informed him that his master possessed hoards of treasure and jewels, though he pretended inability to satisfy the troops.

The degraded and wretched situation of the once august family of Timur, will appear more fully, in the translation of a journal of the monstrous transactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir, from the dethronement of Shaw Aulum, to the flight from the city of that cruel traitor.

JOURNAL, JULY 26th.

A.D.

About seven in the morning, Meerza Ismaeel Beg with his officers and Meerza Muttullub Khan, repaired to Gholaum Kaudir, who was seated in the hall of private audience; and, after some conversation, sent repeated demands of money from the emperor, through the navob Nazir. Meerza Muttullub observed, that had his majesty possessed such a considerable sum, his affairs would not have fallen into such extremity. He was commanded to be silent by Gholaum Kaudir; who, at length sent two attendants to bring Bedar Bukht, son of the emperor Ahmed Shaw. This prince being conducted into the oratory, was seated on the throne, and the customary salutations of royalty made to him by the chiefs. Gholaum Kaudir then dispatched Shaw Aulum, with nineteen princes,

^a The Nazir is the superintendent of the private apartments, always a eunuch.

princes, his sons and grandsons, under a guard to the apartment called Noor Mahal. After this a dispute arose between Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, concerning the latter's remaining in the palace; and Ismaeel Beg at length departed in wrath to his camp.

Bedar Shaw received the compliments of the officers, and ordered several of the deposed emperor's servants into confinement. Soleymaun Shekkoh was brought from the camp, and imprisoned with his father, who was this day denied even water by Gholaum Kaudir. The ministers of the general mosque requested to know in the name of what emperor the prayers were to be read; and the Rohilla answered, "In the name of God and his prophet." He this day sent for the aged princesses, Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, from their house in the city. On their arrival in the palace, he paid his respects, and told them the private apartments of the haram should be under their direction. They approved of his conduct, but warned him not to act in such a manner as to draw the scorn of mankind. He replied, that, under the royal auspices, the empire would be properly regulated. The ladies of Shaw Aulum's family represented, that for two days they had been without food. He ordered them victuals.

This

* These ladies were the widows of Mahummud Shaw, and the former was daughter to the emperor Ferozkhsie. When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee invaded Hindoostan, they accompanied him on his return to his own territories, and resided in his court till his death; when they came back to Dhely, and were allowed by Shaw Aulum to reside out of the palace in the city. It is supposed they possessed great wealth; as both Nadir Shaw and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee in their invasions paid them respect, and left their property unmolested, but it now fell into the hands of Gholaum Kaudir. It is said, they prompted him to depose Shaw Aulum, by an offer of ten lacks of rupees, to place on the throne Bedar Shaw, the grandson of their husband, by a public dancer. If this report is true, their misfortunes are less pitiable, as Shaw Aulum had always treated them with attention and respect during his whole reign.

July 28th.

This day, the princess Mallekeh Zummaneh, assisted by the navob Nazir, searched the apartments of fourteen of Shaw Aulum's women, and ordered all their money and effects to be collected in the oratory; after which they delivered them to Gholaum Kaudir Khan. The effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were confiscated. Bedar Shaw conferred the rank of ameer al amra on Gholaum Kaudir Khan. Information was lodged, that Meerza Mindoo had privately conveyed fourteen cakes of bread and some water to Shaw Aulum. The merciless Rohilla ordered the benevolent prince to be beaten with clubs; but the attendants refused obedience. Mallekeh Zummaneh sent to Shaw Aulum, desiring him to give up his buried treasures, and he should be reinstated on his throne. He replied, he was weary of such empire. Agga Sundal complained to Bedar Shaw of the distressed situation of the deposed sovereign and his family, perishing with hunger. The Shaw gave him five rupees. The Agga observed, the sum was insufficient for such a number, even for a meal. Bedar assured him he had no more money in his possession.

July 29th.

To-day, a quarrel occurred between Bedar Shaw and the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, who threatened to leave the palace; observing, that they had seen four reigns, and been independant of all; had come from their houses to serve his family, but would return, and commit him wholly to the pleasure of Gholaum Kaudir. This silenced the Shaw. Bedar this day sent to Soleymaun Shekkoh and Akber Shaw, assuring them they should not want while he could relieve them, but that they must be reconciled to the decrees of providence, and consider, that their father had reigned thirty years, while his suffered the distress they now complained of. Gholaum Kaudir Khan, having prepared five whips, obliged the
sultan

sultan to take one in his hands, and accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shaw Aulum.

th. This day, the apartments of Shawabadee Begum were searched, and a casket of jewels, some strings of pearl, and gold and silver plate, being found, were delivered to Gholaum Kaudir; who also seized ninety nine horses from the royal stables. Thirty thousand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, besides some plate. The Rohilla sent the latter to the mint, and commanded coins to be struck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inscription:

“The supporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar Shaw, by the grace of God stamped coins throughout the world.”

To-day, five rupees, a bed, and a carpet, were sent by Gholaum Kaudir to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. Several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips, to force a discovery of their effects; and the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. Except the garments they had on, every thing was seized.

ist. Gholaum Kaudir agreed to give Ismaeel Beg five lacks of rupees from the plunder of the palace. Several of the confined princes were insulted by blows; and seven bankers and corn-merchants seized and imprisoned to extort money from them.

ist. The navob Nazir and the eunuchs represented to the emperor, that they had by severe chastisement extorted a discovery from some of the ladies of the haram of a quantity of gold and silver plate, with some jewels. He ordered them to be sent to Gholaum Kaudir. Meerza Buddoo, an ancient prince, uncle
to

to Shaw Aulum, was seized by the Rohilla, and a demand made of a lack of rupees. Pleading inability, he was delivered to the peons to be flogged. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir went to Shaw Aulum, and threatened him. The unhappy prince replied, "What I had, you have taken; but, if you think I conceal some treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and be convinced." The traitor then assured him, if he would discover his hoards, he should reascend his throne. Shaw Aulum answered, "I have no ambition left; may God protect you, who have laid me aside: I am content with my fate." The Rohilla then proceeded to the apartments of the brothers of Shaw Aulum, and threatened them with punishment. Four trunks of wearing apparel, a few trifling jewels, and a silver bedstead only, were found in them on the strictest search. The navob Nazir repents, now too late, of his conduct; and will have more cause every day. Ismaeel Beg is treating with Sindia, who has promised to give him a jaghire and command in his army.

To-day, persons were sent to dig up the floors of the apartments of Meerza Buddoo. Some jewels, plate, and wearing apparel, were found. The prince and his family were ordered to be kept without food; but at the earnest intercession of Meerza Hinga, uncle to Bedar Shaw, it was allowed them. Gholaum Kaudir to-day roughly demanded from the emperor the whole sum he had promised for his throne. Bedar Shaw said, "He had given every thing as yet discovered, and desired the jewels might be valued." The Rohilla replied, "Jewels were to him of no value; he must have money, or plate to coin." A message coming from the princess Mallekeh Zummaneh, that she wished to see him, he would not go, but abused her to the eunuchs who brought the compliment. Bedar Shaw entreated him to be pacified, and every exertion should

August 2d.

be used to procure money. The sultan would have embraced him, but the wretch drew back, and retired in displeasure; after which he sent a band of Afghauns to guard the royal person and extort money. They threatened to pull Bedar Shaw from his throne, and correct him with blows; upon which he exclaimed, "If this is empire, the scanty meal I enjoyed when among the confined princes, was sweet indeed." The Afghauns ordered him to be silent, saying, "They had ruined Shaw Aulum in an instant, and what was he better than him." Guards were also placed over the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal; and Gholaum Kaudir informed them, "that as the world would now at any rate call him traitor, he was resolved to seize the whole property of the royal family." The navob Nazir trembles for his safety, and has discharged his attendants. Seven lacks of rupees are demanded from him.

To-day, Gholaum Kaudir Khan seated himself in the presence of Bedar Shaw, and smoked his hookah before him; stretching out his feet on the royal musnud, at the same time insulting him by abusive language.

Bedar Shaw sent a note by the Nazir to Gholaum Kaudir, requesting him to have the jewels valued, but he refused; demanding six lacks in money, and would not suffer the Nazir to return. The emperor sending him two garlands of flowers, he threw them on the ground in disrespect. The Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal have discharged their households. Ruttun Ram advising Bedar Shaw to send a khelaut to the navob vizier, he said, "I have none but this old garment on my body."

Gholaum

* The highest disrespect he could be guilty of to the sovereign.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan to-day forced the doors of the royal baths; and finding two silver chairs, sent them to the mint. The apartments and effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were ransacked. Thirty two elephants and one hundred horses from the royal stables were sent to the Rohilla camp. A request of Shaw Aulum for some foot cloths was complied with. August 5th.

The thrones and other seats belonging to Shaw Aulum, ornamented with gold or silver, were broken to pieces, and the plate sent to the mint. Gholaum Kaudir seized the clothes and ornaments of fifty or sixty dancing girls belonging to the palace. On their complaining of his oppression, he commanded them to sing and dance, and being pleased with their performance, gave them back their clothes, but kept their jewels, and turned them out of the citadel. After this, he went to the apartments of the prince Meerza Baber, which were ransacked; and sent a woman to search the haram. When every thing was seized, the prince and the ladies were ordered to be put with the rest of the royal family in confinement. The dwelling of Meerza Khoord, brother to Shaw Aulum, was next plundered. The chief woman servant of Kirrammut al Nissa Begum was seized, and severely beaten, to make her discover the effects of her mistress; but she would not confess, and was put into prison. The floors of the Begum's apartments were then dug up, and some gold ornaments found. Gholaum Kaudir to-day threatened Bedar Shaw with punishment, if he would not speedily supply him with money, as the troops were becoming clamorous for pay. He then went to Shaw Aulum, and demanded a discovery of the money he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Aleabad. The Shaw replied, "that what was in the palace was seized; he had no more; and begged to be put to death, that he might be freed from misery." The Rohilla replied, "he would not hurt him, but force a confession August 6th.

“ fession from his sons Meerza Akber and Soleymaun Shekkoh.” Upon which Shaw Aulum said, “ I am in your hands, but “ injure not my children.” Gholaum Kaudir threatened the princes, who declared they knew nothing of their father’s trea-
fury; but informed him, that there was a Cashmirian woman in the service of Koottubee Begum, who, if money was concealed, was informed of it. Upon this the woman was sent for and questioned, but confessed nothing; when she was confined for further examination. Bedar Shaw to-day gave Gholaum Kaudir a pair of gold bracelets and twenty five thousand rupees, which had been discovered, with which he was well pleased, and sent to the Shaw five trays of apparel from the wardrobe, and five silver plates. Bedar Shaw desired he would carry him to the general mosque to pay his devotions; but the Rohilla told him not to be in haste, and he should go at a convenient time in proper state. The dissention with Ismaeel Beg-
encreases daily, and that chief is treating with the Mharattas; but, till their arrival, waits to get what he can from the plunder of the palace. The furniture of the royal elephants was
seized to-day.

h. Bedar Shaw sent a message to Gholaum Kaudir, “ that he “ had, to gratify him, though unbecoming his dignity as a “ prince, assisted in rifling the palace, and surrendered the trea-
“ sure discovered. Nothing more was left, but he was ready, “ to accompany him to the field, and acquire wealth for him “ with the sword.” Gholaum Kaudir visited Shaw Aulum, and told him, “ he was sorry for his treasons, but would make “ amends by seating his son Meerza Akber on the throne.” Shaw Aulum replied, “ he might act as he pleased; but as for, “ himself, he was weary of such degraded empire, and only “ wished to be retired, and employ himself in devotion.” Bedar Shaw was severely threatened this day with correction, if he did ,
not

not procure more money; upon which he replied, "that he had given all in his power, and should be happy to be released from such mock royalty."

Bedar Shaw was again threatened with correction and confinement, in case he did not produce more money or jewels; and again replied, "that Gholaum Kaudir might act as he pleased." August 8

In the apartments of Mubarc Mhal, upwards of an hundred women were searched, and afterwards imprisoned. Mallekeh Zummaneh was this day violently indisposed. Bedar Shaw declared to Gholaum Kaudir, "that there were no more valuables left in the palace; but if he chose, he would attend him to collect money from the rajas and zemindars." The Rohilla answered, "that if money was not brought him on the morrow, the Shaw must take the consequence." Twenty chests of lace and tissues were this day burned by Gholaum Kaudir, to extract the silver. Bedar Shaw requested an interview, but was rudely refused in the evening. A meeting took place between Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg Khan. The navob Nazir was threatened with flagellation if he did not produce money. August 9

Gholaum Kaudir, attended by five Rohillas, went to Shaw Aulum and demanded a discovery of his hidden treasure. The unfortunate Shaw replied, "I have none; take what you can find in the fort." The villain then ordered his attendants to lift up the princes Meerza Soleyman, Akber Shaw and others, and dash them on the ground; which they did. Shaw Aulum in the agony of his grief exclaimed, "Traitor, forbear such cruelty on my children in my fight." Upon this, Gholaum Kaudir made the Rohillas cast him on the ground; after which they sat upon his breast, and stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. He then gave orders Aug. 10th.

orders for the like cruelty to be inflicted on the princes, but was prevented by the entreaties of an officer, named Seetuldass. The palace resounded with lamentations among the ladies of the haram. They were commanded to be silent, on pain of chastisement. In the afternoon, Bedar Shaw was carried into the city, attended by the Rohilla; but the latter, suspecting treachery from Ismaeel Beg, returned suddenly with the Shaw to the palace. The inhabitants desert the city in crowds. The bankers' and jewellers' shops have been shut up many days.

Two surgeons were sent to attend Shaw Aulum, who lies in great agony of pain. Some money and effects were sent by Gholaum Kaudir to Ismaeel Beg, who is much dissatisfied. A meeting afterwards took place between them, and they visited Bedar Shaw in company.

Shaw Aulum petitioned for some relief, as his family had been three days without provisions. Gholaum Kaudir ordered twenty eight rupees per day to be distributed for their support.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan ordered an escort to conduct the plunder of the palace to Ghoseghur. The cooking utensils of the royal kitchens were seized this day.

The emperor Bedar Shaw desired the navob Nazir to prepare a mosque in the palace for his devotions; but was informed, that the carpeting, &c. had been seized. Upon his importunity, however, some sort of preparation was made, and Bedar heard, for the first time, the prayer read in his own name as emperor. Two infant sons of the prince Soleymaun Shekkoh to-day died for want of food. Shaw Aulum dismissed

his

* About two pounds twelve shillings.

his physicians, and declined nourishment, saying, "it was more preferable to die, than live, and behold his family perishing around him." Bedar ordered the children to be buried in the Mhal. He said, "that Shaw Aulum complained unjustly, and should be resigned to the decrees of providence." Gholaum Kaudir paid his devotions at the tomb of Nizam ad Dien, where he was met by Ismaeel Beg, and mutual oaths of reconciliation passed between them.

The ladies from several apartments of the haram were turned out into Sulleemghur, and Bedar Shaw was commanded by Gholaum Kaudir to dig up the floors in search of treasure. Parties of Mharatta horse to-day appeared close to the city. Shaw Aulum is in great agony, what he eats voiding by the nose. Aug. 14th.

The Rohillas mutinied, and Gholaum Kaudir was obliged to remain close in the citadel. Meerza Ismaeel Beg confined several inhabitants of the city to extort money from them. Aug. 15th.

Bedar Shaw desired Gholaum Kaudir to think of preparing to resist the Mharattas, who were now plundering round the city, and carrying off the cattle and grain. Many angry messages passed between Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, concerning the division of plunder. At length, the former went to visit the latter in the evening to try an accommodation. Two diamonds, which had been given from the plunder of Shaw Aug. 16th.

* Sulleemghur, or Selimghur, is part of the old palace erected by the emperor Jehaungeer, whose name was also Sulleem, or Selim. Since the completion of the new palace by Shaw Jehaun, Sulleemghur has been used as a prison for the princes of the royal family. It is large, has several courts, and gardens for their recreation. Till the reigning emperor became himself in want, they were allowed every convenience of life, but liberty; and as they were mostly born and bred up in confinement, perhaps did not much feel the want of it.

Shaw Aulum to Bedar Shaw, were this day taken from him by the Rohilla.

Aug. 17th. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg visited Bedar Shaw, and demanded money, that they might pay the troops, and attend him to the field. The Shaw replied, "that he had none; but would consign over to them the navob Nazir, from whom they might extort it." A convoy of baggage, &c. from Ghoseghur was intercepted by the Mharattas, and many Rohillas cut to pieces. Numbers were drowned in the Jumna in trying to escape from the enemy by fording it. The Mharattas appeared on the bank of the Jumna opposite the citadel. Bedar Shaw desired Gholaum Kaudir to march, offering to accompany him.

Aug. 18th. The Mharattas continued their approaches, all supplies were stopped from the city, and the shops shut up. Part of the Rohilla army crossed the river, unopposed by the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir went into the apartments of the confined princes, and ordered the property of Khier al Nissa Begum, sister of Shaw Aulum, to be seized. Her money, ornaments, and even the garments she had on, were taken. Several princes were brought before him, whom he addressed, saying, "You aspired to empire, give me your treasures for it." In reply, they wept, and said, "You have taken all we had; there is nothing remaining but our lives." He then caused them to be beaten with whips, and sent them back to confinement. A demand was made on the Begums, Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal for five lacks of rupees.

Aug. 19th. The effects of the two Begums above-mentioned were this day seized, guards placed on their houses, and their attendants sent prisoners to the citadel. A letter was presented from Shaw Aulum-

Aulum requesting relief, 'as he and his family were perishing with hunger. Gholaum Kaudir threw the letter on the ground, and exclaimed, "I came not here of my own will; but, as "I slept in a garden at Secundra, suddenly an apparition "struck me on the face, saying, March speedily to Dhely, de- "pose the emperor, and seize the country." Meerza Meendo, uncle of Shaw Aulum, was to-day so severely flogged by orders of the Rohilla, as to faint away, and at length discovered a chamber, under the floor of which were secreted some large chests, two of which were filled with gold coin, and others with rich cloths. The contents of this hoard were unknown to Shaw Aulum, and had been deposited there by Shaw Begum in the last reign.

A guard was placed over the navob Nazir, and his effects seized. Aug. 20
He was also commanded to discover the hidden treasures of Shaw Aulum, on pain of punishment. Bedar Shaw sent a request to Gholaum Kaudir for the release of Meerza Buddoo; but the messenger returned without delivering it, the navob being in a violent rage, which made him fearful of going into his presence. About nine at night, the Shaw ventured to send again, begging that he would, for pity's sake, allow some victuals for the women; upon which he sent a small quantity of oil and flour. Many ladies of the haram were searched to-day, and Rohilla soldiers placed at their apartments. Gholaum Kaudir came into the oratory, and had much conversation with the emperor and the Begums Mallekeh Zummāneh and Sahebeh Mhal; when it was agreed, that the ladies belonging to Bedar Shaw should be removed from the haram, and a strict search be made for treasure in every room. Shaw Aulum was sent for, and ordered to discover his hoards. He replied, "that he "knew of none, and begged for compassion on his miseries,

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"and his family dying with hunger." The Rohilla told him, "he should yet have more calamities to suffer."

Aug. 21st. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir ordered Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal from their chambers into the apartments of Akber Shaw, and also the Begum of Bedar Shaw. Upon this Bedar Shaw went to him to complain of his insulted honour; when the Rohilla turning him back, told him to go and keep them company; when he retired to them accordingly. Four ladies died of grief and hunger this day. Their bodies were thrown into the open court, while Gholaum Kaudir was surveying the labourers, who, by his orders, were busied in digging up the floors of the haram. He to-day commanded some of the princes to sing for him, and one of his attendants entreating him not to be so disrespectful, he exclaimed, "If they cannot sing, what else are they fit for? They are the offspring of singers. Had they been princes, would they have tamely suffered me to act as I have done?"

Aug. 22d. Bedar Shaw came to Gholaum Kaudir, and requested him, from regard to God and the prophet, to allow some provision for his women and children; when the Rohilla frowned sternly upon him, and uttered much abusive language. The Shaw with the Begums are now confined in the octagon turret, surrounded only by screens. Gholaum Kaudir sent for Akber Shaw and other princes to sing and play before him, which they dared not refuse. After the performance, he expressed his approbation, and said, "Shaw Aulum and his family should no longer be distressed for necessaries and food."

Aug. 23d. The house of the nabob Nazir was searched, but nothing of much value discovered. The Rohilla chiefs grow clamorous
for

for money. Gholauum Kaudir pretends he has none, and is dividing among them the effects of the palace.

A daughter of the prince Meerza Toghrul died of hunger, Aug. 24 and was buried in her chamber. Meerza Ismacel Beg sent to enquire of Gholauum Kaudir if he meant to march, as the enemy were now surrounding him. Gholauum Kaudir excused himself for his behaviour to the navob Nazir, by declaring, that he had seized his property, only lest it should be suspected that he was his adviser in the plunder of Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal. Parties of the Mharattas appeared to-day close to the old citadel, and carried off some horses and bullocks. Munniar Sing, who commanded the palace guard, having allowed some provisions to pass to Shaw Aulum and the other confined princes, was rebuked severely by Gholauum Kaudir.

Meerza Ismacel Beg threatened Gholauum Kaudir, that if he Aug. 25 would not deliver up his share of the plunder, he would leave him; and the Mogul chiefs also declared, if he remained longer in the citadel, they would quit his service. Gholauum Kaudir made no answer. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal sent a petition that they might not be left to perish with hunger, but rather, be relieved from their miseries by immediate death. Bedar Shaw threatened to put on a religious habit; but was told by the Rohilla, that he must prepare to march. He replied, that he would not move.

Bedar Shaw requested of Gholauum Kaudir to dethrone him, Aug. 2 as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the most common necessaries of life. Gholauum

P p 2

Kaudir

* In Hindoostan, for a person under the protection of another to assume the habit of a fakcer, or religious, is reckoned disgraceful to the party promising protection, and believed to bring down the curses of heaven upon him.

Kaudir seized all the horses of the royal stables, and distributed them among his followers, leaving only fifteen, of little value, for the Shaw's use. Six ladies of the haram died of hunger, and their bodies were thrown over the walls of the citadel, on the sands of the Jumna. On its being reported, that many others were in a dying state, from the same cause, Gholaum Kaudir sent a small supply for the women of Bedar Shaw, but took no notice of the rest.

Aug. 27th. Four ladies of Shaw Aulum's haram, weary of life, threw themselves from a window into the river, and were drowned. Their bodies were stripped by some soldiers, one of whom was wounded in a scuffle for the division of the garments. The unfortunate Shaw Aulum, almost famished, sent a small silver bow ring, by a soldier who pitied his condition, into the market for sale. It produced only ^a seven pice, with which some coarse bread was purchased for his meal. A considerable sum of money, many valuable jewels and rich effects, were found in the house of Sahebeh Mhal, and seized by Gholaum Kaudir.

Aug. 28th. Some provisions and apparel were allowed to Shaw Aulum and his family. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal entreated, but in vain, to be allowed to retire to their houses in the city. Gholaum Kaudir refused to visit Bedar Shaw, though repeatedly sent for. The navob Nazir was released from his confinement. The shops in the city are shut up, owing to the riotous behaviour of the Rohillas from the dearness of grain, the Mharattas preventing all supplies from the country.

Aug. 29th. Gholaum Kaudir, in a frolic of intoxication, sent for Akber Shaw and several other princes, sons of Shaw Aulum, to the lion bastion, where he entertained them with a feast and dancing.

^a About sixpence.

cing. After some time, laying his head on the knees of Akber Shaw, he slept for two hours. On awaking, he wept, saying, "he had been guilty of great crimes, and repented of his behaviour; that he would restore all the property he had taken, but could not replace the eyes of Shaw Aulum." Akber Shaw, after some consideration, observed, that "the providence which had given eyes to his father, had also taken them away; and the instrument of heaven was not to blame." They sat at the entertainment until sunrise.

Bedar Shaw went to visit Gholaum Kaudir, who would not see him, and ordered him to retire to his apartments. The women of the haram are in the greatest distress for want of victuals. Aug. 30th.

Bedar Shaw, by message, entreated Gholaum Kaudir to order some relief to the confined princes and ladies of the haram; but was answered with angry refusals. Gholaum Kaudir, in passing by the Mhal, was accosted with loud complaints from the unfortunate women, who begged him to allow them food, or let them leave the citadel; but he passed on, saying, "that in four days more he would relieve them." He went to the emperor's bedchamber, and finding a scymetar on the bed, took it away; at the same time commanding the guards not to let Bedar Shaw come to him on any account. Aug. 31st.

The troops of Gholaum Kaudir are mutinous for their arrears. He has spent this day in trying to appease them, but in vain. They threaten to desert him. Sept. 1st. 1788.

Gholaum Kaudir went out to the tomb of Hoomaioon to pacify the Rohillas. After much argument, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger, rushed towards him, but was stopped

ped by his companions. At length, the troops were satisfied with the assurance of receiving two months pay immediately, and Gholaum Kaudir returned to the palace.

Sept. 3d. News arrived that the zemindars in Sarungpore were in arms; on which account Gholaum Kaudir has resolved to march to Ghoseghur, leaving Ismaeel Beg Khan in Dhely, to defend it against the Mharattas.

Sept. 4th. Gholaum Kaudir is preparing for his march. A new quarrel has arisen between him and Ismaeel Beg Khan concerning the division of the plunder.

Sept. 5th. Bedar Shaw requested, by message, that Gholaum Kaudir would permit barbers to be admitted to Shaw Aulum and his sons, who had not been shaved since the day of his dethronement. It was allowed. Gholaum Kaudir has been the whole day drinking, and listening to the singing girls.

Sept. 6th. A wife of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shaw died in the palace, and Gholaum Kaudir would not permit the body to be carried out for interment, though Bedar Shaw entreated his permission. The Rohilla has been this day consulting with his officers, concerning his defence against the Mharattas.

Sept. 7th. As Gholaum Kaudir was sitting under a tree this day, a black snake fell upon him from one of the branches, but he received no injury. A quantity of gold and jewels was discovered in the ceiling of a chamber. Part of the Rohilla army crossed the river, on which the Mharattas retreated to some distance.

Bedar

* The territory inherited by Gholaum Kaudir from his father Zabtah Khan,

Bedar Shaw observed to his attendants, that his was a strange empire, for he could not even obtain necessaries for his family; that he read the koraun nightly, slept upon the bare ground, and prayed at midnight, in hopes that God in his mercy would have pity on his situation. Gholaum Kaudir reviewed his artillery, and is preparing to march.

Sept. 8th.

Gholaum Kaudir continues his preparations to march.

Sept. 9th.

Gholaum Kaudir divided the royal tents among his chief followers.

Sept. 10th

Nothing remarkable occurred till the fourteenth, when Gholaum Kaudir, alarmed at information of Ismaeel Beg's being in treaty with Sindia to deliver him up to that chief, suddenly left the palace, and swam the Jumna on an elephant to join the part of his army encamped on the other side. In a few days, however, he returned; and going to Shaw Aulum, assured him, that though he might reign again if the Mharattas were victorious, he should not enjoy the presence of his children, as they should be put to death in case of his defeat. The savage Rohilla then obliged all the sons of the unfortunate emperor to embark in a boat, and cross the river to his camp. Akber Shaw making some resistance, Gholaum Kaudir drew his scymetar, and threatened to kill him if he did not embark, when the prince was obliged to comply. The plunder of the palace was also all carried off in boats. The day following, the Rohilla returned to the citadel, and severely beat Shaw Aulum with his own hands, threatening to murder all the princes. He then obliged the aged Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal to go to his camp, in despite of their lamentations and entreaties. Then setting fire to all the combustible parts of the citadel, he evacuated it, with his followers, and repaired to his camp.

camp. Upon his departure, a detachment of Mharattas took possession of the city and palace. Rana Khan, the chief, released Shaw Aulum from his confinement, and ordered refreshments for the unfortunate emperor and the numerous persons in the haram, who, for seven days, had been able to procure no sustenance, but dry grain and water. New coins were ordered to be struck in the name of Shaw Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wished to decline the throne in favour of Akber Shaw, whom he had always intended for his successor.

Gholaum Kaudir, a few days after his departure from Dhely, disgusted at some behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mharattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made sovereign, and acknowledged, as emperor, Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his son, that on hearing of his exaltation, he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous navob Nazir, assuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had sustained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his son on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mharatta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refused, saying, "He could not, while the prince was in fact only a prisoner, in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan."

Rana Khan having settled affairs at Dhely, and being reinforced by navob Alee Bahadur with a considerable force from Dekkan, crossed the Jumna, to oppose Gholaum Kaudir Khan. That chief, finding it impossible to stand against so powerful an enemy, endeavoured to make his retreat into his own country, but was intercepted. He took refuge in the town of Mhirta, and made proposals of submission; but the Mharattas would not accept them; and on the twenty first of December, 1788, made a
general

general assault on the place. Gholaum Kaudir defended himself a whole day against their attacks; but seeing that he must in the end be reduced, he in the night mounted a fleet horse and made his escape, leaving his followers to shift for themselves. He had not rode many miles, when his horse stumbled, and Gholaum Kaudir was so bruised by the fall he received, that he could not move. In this situation he was found by some villagers, who took him prisoner to the Mharatta camp. He had, previous to his flight, concealed the most valuable jewels acquired from the plunder of the palace, in his saddle and housings. To whose lot this prize fell, is not known, as the horse was never found. The navob Nazir, and other chiefs who had remained in Mhirta, were in the morning obliged to surrender with the troops at the discretion of the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir was at first treated with distinction; but soon put into heavy irons, with his companion in treachery, the navob Nazir. Akber Shaw and the other sons of Shaw Aulum, with the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, also the deposed Bedar Shaw, were respectfully treated by Rana Khan, who sent them to Dhely, with a proper escort for their protection. Bedar Shaw was remanded to imprisonment.

The Mharattas possessed themselves of Ghoseghur, and the territories of Gholaum Kaudir Khan. They are now without a rival in the direction of the emperor, and likely to remain so, as long as their own state shall remain free from internal commotions, and the neutrality of the English and the navob vizier, with respect to the imperial affairs, be observed.

While a prince of the house of Timur is esteemed as a necessary pageant for the veneration of the people, we shall continue to hear of an emperor of Hindoostan; but it is very improbable that any future possessor of the throne, will ever

VOL. II. Q q acquire

acquire the smallest independance on the will of the power which protects his person, whether Hindoo or Mahummedan. The rulers of the different provinces have, as yet, been contented to acknowledge a nominal submission to an emperor, from motives of convenience. It has prevented the jealousy of their equals, and given a sanction to their usurpations with the people, who have yet regarded the Timur family as the fountain of honours and employments; but, except over Dhely, a small tract around it, and during a few years in Korah and Aleabad, the emperors have had no real territorial authority, since the reign of Mahummud Shaw. The Mharattas once attempted to set up a sovereign of their own at Dhely^{*}; and, should they not be interrupted in their present career of victory, may, in a few years, throw aside the family of Timur, and declare the raja of Sittarra, or their peshwa, emperor of Hindoostan, or at least of the extensive share of it in their possession.

Since this conclusion, the wretch Gholauum Kaudir was punished by Sindia. His ears, nose, arms, and legs, were cut off; and in this mutilated state he was sent to Shaw Aulum, but died on the road to Dhely. Shaw Aulum has reassumed the throne, if such it may be called, and subsists on the bounty of Sindia, who is employed in reducing the Jeypore country.

1792.

By the last advices, Sindia had levied contributions from the Jeypore, Odipore, and Jodepore rajas, and obliged them to cede

* The failure of which attempt has been related in the defeat of the Bhaow, by the Abdallee Shaw, in the preceding pages.

cede some parts of their country, and pay tribute for the rest. Shaw Aulum continues a mere pensioner on this chief. The successes of the English, Nizam, and Mharattas against Tippoo Sultan, and the partition of his territories, promise some continuance of peace to Hindoostan; where it is probable, however, the sun of Timur has set for ever.

END OF AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS
IN THE EMPIRE OF HINDOOSTAN.

PART VI.

HISTORY OF BENGAL,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

ALIVERDEE KHAN MAHABUT JUNG.

P R E F A C E.

IT was supposed, that an account of the affairs of BENGAL, with which we are so nearly concerned, would be more agreeable to the reader separately detailed, as its connection must have been frequently broken off by the events in other provinces, if inserted in the general history of the empire.

Bengal, since the death of Mahummud Shaw, like the other provinces, has been nearly independant of the emperors; the several navobs remitting only a trifling part of the revenues to court, and the English government, since the departure of Shaw Aulum in 1771 from under our protection, has ceased to pay any other acknowledgment of his sovereignty, than using his name on the coin and in some of the orders of administration to native officers; if we except a few inconsiderable presents offered him on the great Mahummedan festivals.

At the death of Aurungzebe, and for some years prior to that event, Bengal was governed by Moorshud Koollee Jaffier Khan,

Khan, of whom an account has been published by Mr. GLADWIN, and also of his successor Shujah ad Dowlah. His son Serferauz ad Dowlah was deposed by Mahabut Jung, stiled also Aliverdee Khan, whose life begins the following pages. This was compiled from a Persian manuscript. The transactions from his last illness were translated from the Persian history of Bengal, as literally as possible, of *Gholaum Houfsein Khan, a learned and respectable character, once of greater consequence, but now, if living, a member of the native court of judicature under the most worthy navob Alee Ibrahim Khan; the establishment of which by Mr. HASTINGS restored justice and police to a great capital, in which they had long been neglected.

* An English translation of this has, I understand, been published in Calcutta, by Mustapha, a French mussulman, which I should have wished to have compared with my own, but have not been able to procure it.

HISTORY OF BENGAL.

MAHABUT Jung was originally named Meerza Mahummud Alee. His father, Meerza Mahummud, an officer in the service of the prince Azim Shaw, on the death of his patron falling into distress, moved from Dhely to Cuttac, the capital of Orissa, in hopes of mending his fortune under Shujah ad Dowlah, a distant relation to his wife. Shujah ad Dowlah was son in law to Jaffier Khan, soubahdar of Bengal, from whom he held Orissa, as deputy governor. He received his relation with kindness, appointing an allowance for his support; which induced Meerza Mahummud to send for his son, who accordingly repaired to Cuttac, and was entertained by Shujah ad Dowlah in his service, at a monthly stipend of one hundred rupees. In a short time, the abilities of Mahummud Alee engaging the esteem of his patron, he gradually entrusted him with commands against rebellious zemindars, in which he proved himself worthy of confidence, and was generously rewarded by higher trusts. He now invited his elder brother Hajee Ahmud, then returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to join him; and on his arrival he, as also his three sons, Mahummud Reza, Mahummud Saeed, and Mahummud Hashim, were enrolled in the

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service of Shujah ad Dowlah, at salaries of fifty, thirty, twenty, and fifteen rupées per month; but as the influence of Mahummud Alee encreased, they were proportionably raised to higher employments.

Jaffier Khan, being displeased at Shujah ad Dowlah's having neglected his daughter for other women, left at his death the succession to his government to his grandson Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; but Shujah ad Dowlah having more interest at the court of Dhely than his son, procured the soubahdary for himself; when Serferauz Khan dutifully submitted to his authority, on promise of succeeding his parent, and continued to hold the office of imperial dewan under him.

Shujah ad Dowlah, thinking himself greatly indebted to the abilities and fidelity of Mahummud Alee and Hajee Ahmud, for his easy acquisition of the government of Bengal, pursued no measure without their advice. On the former he bestowed the ¹fojedaury of Rajmahal, and procured for him from the emperor a ²munsib and the title of Aliverdee Khan. The latter was appointed superintendant of the customs of Moorshudabad, and

¹ Superintendant of the collections. While the authority of the emperors was properly observed, the dewan of a province managed the revenues, and the nazim, or soubahdar, had no power over them, his office being solely that of commander in chief and dispenser of criminal law; but as the empire declined, he usurped the rights of the dewan, whose office became nominal only. Lord Clive obtained it for the company, who reclaimed the proper exertion of the office, but have not for some years remitted any part of the revenue to Dhely. During Shaw Aulum's residence under their protection, he received annually twenty six lacs of rupées; but on quitting it, this tribute was withheld.

² The fojedaur in his district had the same authority as the nazim of a province; but latterly, his office has been confined to the superintendence of police.

³ Commander of a body of cavalry, sometimes nominal only, for the purpose of giving a title, as all rank is military in Hindoostan.

and his three sons to considerable employments. These distinctions were but the paths to higher offices, as, in a short time after, the province of Bahar being conferred by the emperor on Shujah ad Dowlah, he entrusted the government of it to Aliverdee Khan, obtaining for him additional rank, and the title of 'Mahabut Jung. Hajee Ahmud was created dewan to the navob, and his sons raised to the governments of large districts in Bengal and Bahar.

Shujah ad Dowlah after twelve years' government of Bengal, (the inhabitants of which still speak with veneration of the lenient exercise of his authority,) dying, was succeeded by his son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, a young prince, whose character as a moral and religious man stands high on the pages of native history. Eusuff Alee Khan, who writes that of Mahabut Jung, and strives to apologise for his usurpation, as the effect of necessity and self-defence, says, "Serferauz Khan was
 " a prince of exemplary virtue; for though he possessed every
 " incitement to voluptuousness in addition to the season of
 " youth, yet he was not addicted to sensual enjoyments; and
 " during his short government, in the course of which I was
 " constantly with him, I never beheld in his conduct even a
 " tendency towards a vicious action. But, alas! he was ig-
 " norant of the arts of policy, and possessed not an address or
 " manners to conciliate the world, so that he became a prey
 " to the machinations of his enemies."

A. H. 1171
 A. D. 1758

Serferauz Khan at first confirmed all the servants of his father in office, but shortly, impelled by the clamour of his own dependants, who naturally wished to share in the advantages of government, he took the dewanny from Hajee Ahmud, and removed his friends Aulum Chund Royroyan and Juggutt

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Seet

Seet from their employments; which gave much disgust to the two brothers, who had for some years, through their influence with Shujah ad Dowlah, governed Bengal. Hajee Ahmud resolved on the destruction of his master, and privately concerted with Mahabut Jung to depose him; but at the same time had the address to make Serferauz Khan believe, till too late, that he was attached to his interests, and even to persuade him to disband a great part of his army, so unnecessarily expensive in a time of profound peace. He pretended that he was weary of the cares of office, and to thank the navob for relieving him of a burden, and giving him the indulgence of religious retirement in his old age; at the same time expressing his readiness to give his advice on public affairs. His hypocrisy succeeded on the unsuspecting mind of the prince, though he was frequently warned by friends of the danger of confiding in a displaced minister, and continuing his sons and dependants in the government of districts, which they yet enjoyed. He even communicated to Hajee Ahmud advice which had been given him to seize the persons of himself and family; but this mark of sincerity, instead of gaining their loyalty, only served to make them hasten the work of treachery, lest the navob should in time be prevailed upon to follow the wholesome counsel of his real friends. The apologists of Mahabut Jung say, that he had originally no designs on Bengal, but wished only to be continued in the government of Bahar; and would not have conspired against his patron, had he not been persuaded by his brother, that his office and even life was in danger. Be this as it may, some months after his accession,

* It has been said, (how truly I know not, as I have heard it contradicted by many persons) that the following circumstance encreased the disgust of the Sects. A near relation of their's, a young lady of uncommon beauty, was forced to shew herself to the navob, who, however, did not offer any other injury, but this was one, not to be forgiven consistent with Indian honour.

cession, Serferauz Khan, who had not yet received the royal grants of confirmation in his government, received intelligence from his agent at Dhely, that Mahabut Jung had employed emissaries to bribe the imperial ministers, and obtain for himself the soubahdary of Bahar independantly, if not of Bengal. It is most probable that this information was true, as the court of Dhely was become notoriously corrupt; and even its weakness made the emperor, on the vacancy of government, deaf to juster claims, and bestow the succession on him whose force was the strongest, as the only mode of preserving an acknowledgment of his authority.

Serferauz Khan now began to be alarmed; and, in order to reduce the influence of Mahabut Jung, he recalled the troops stationed with him in Bahar; but they did not obey him. He next tried conciliatory measures to gain his attachment, and proposed an alliance between his own son and a niece of Hajee Ahmud; but this offer was rejected, and taken hold of as a pretence for rebellion, under colour of the young lady's having been already betrothed to another, which made the proposal an indignity to the whole family, that ought to be revenged. Hajee Ahmud and his sons wrote heavy complaints of this insult to Mahabut Jung, assuring him, that the nayob meant forcibly to celebrate the nuptials, and unless he should prevent them, by speedily marching to Bengal and rescuing the lady and themselves from his power, their family would be dishonoured, and perhaps cut off in defending their reputation, by the tyrant. To account for the self-security of Serferauz Khan at this period is impossible; for, though informed that Mahabut Jung was encreasing his forces, and that he entertained treasonable designs, Hajee Ahmud and his sons were left at liberty, and Atta Oollah Khan, the father of the young lady, in command of the frontier station towards Bahar; nor did he take the

the precaution to collect his troops. Suddenly he received advice, that Mahabut Jung had arrived at Rajmahal, not more than three days' march from the capital, with his army, having gained the passes by the connivance of Atta Oollah Khan, the fojedaur of that district. From hence he had a letter from the rebel, setting forth, that as the indignities offered to his family had amounted to personal dishonour, he had marched thus far without orders, but hoped he should not be obliged to come to extremities he wished to avoid; and promising to retire, if the nabob would send his brother and nephews with their families and effects to his camp.

Serferauz Khan on this occasion rejected the advice of his friends to confine Hajee Ahmud, who, with solemn asseverations, declaring that Mahabut Jung would on his being allowed to visit him, retire to his government, unless the nabob should invite him to his presence as a mark of favour, was permitted to depart with his family. The nabob dispatched with him two confidential persons, to assure Mahabut Jung of his regard, and learn, if possible, his real intentions. At the same time, he moved from the capital with about four thousand horse, and proceeded by easy marches towards the rebel. On the fourth day his agents returned, bringing him assurances from Mahabut Jung that he was loyal to his person and government; but requested that Ghose Mahommud Khan and others, who he knew had prejudiced the nabob against him, might be removed from court, that he might safely come and pay his respects; also, that seven lacks of rupees would be given to pay the arrears of those troops who had been detached with him from Bengal by the late nabob.

Serferauz Khan now was not to be longer deceived. He saw the demands of the rebel in their true light, as made only
to

HISTORY OF BENGAL.

to deprive him of his real friends, and render him a defenceless prey to treachery; but, instead of boldly continuing his march, he imprudently opposed art to art; in which he was unequal. He seemingly assented to the requests of Mahabut Jung, while he sent emissaries with large sums to bribe his followers to desert him; but they betrayed their commission, and the rebel taking immediate advantage of the nabob's security in the success of his scheme, while negotiations were depending, surprized his camp. Serferauz Khan was slain, it is supposed, by the treachery of his attendants, in the beginning of the attack. His troops, after a very gallant resistance, in which success often remained doubtful, were defeated, and Mahabut Jung became by his victory, soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Serferauz possessed the government only one year and two months, being in his thirty sixth year at the time of his death, which happened in the year 1739.

Two days after his victory, Mahabut Jung entered the capital, and repairing first to the apartments of Nuffeesa Begum, daughter to Shujah ad Dowlah, entreated her pardon for the slaughter of her brother, and assured her of his protection to herself and the survivors of her family. He then ascended the musnud in the hall of audience, and his authority as soubahdar was acknowledged by the officers of government and inhabitants of the city. Having possessed himself of the treasures of the unfortunate Serferauz Khan, which had accumulated to an immense amount by the savings of his grandfather and father, and had not been diminished, Mahabut Jung sent a crore of rupees in money, and to the amount of seventy lacs in jewels, plate, and rich goods, as an offering to the emperor; who, in return for this mark of obedience, shortly after confirmed him in the government of the three soubahs of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. It is said, these sums were but a trifling part of his acquisitions.

acquisitions. He conferred large sums on his relations and adherents, and bestowed an ample gratuity on the troops. Having arranged the affairs of Bengal, he prepared to reduce Orissa, which was as yet unsubdued to his government.

Moorshud Koollee Khan, deputy governor of Orissa, son in law to Shujah ad Dowlah who had married the sister of the late navob, on his overthrow had at first quietly acknowledged Mahabut Jung as soubahdar, and was continued in office; but soon afterwards, at the instigation of his wife and Baukir Khan, his son in law, who reproached him with cowardice in submitting to a traitor, he withdrew his allegiance, and prepared to revenge the murder of his brother in law; for which purpose he levied an army, and invited the officers of the late navob to join his standard against the usurper.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of his designs, regarding them as the effect of artful persuasion on his mind, was willing if possible to avoid a rupture, and wrote letters of assurance that he had no enmity towards him; but, as circumstances had rendered his stay in his territories hazardous for the peace of both parties, he entreated he would remove either to Dhely by way of Moorshudabad, or to Dekkan, which was nearer Cuttac, with his family and effects. Moorshud Koollee Khan, justly fearing opposition to Mahabut Jung fruitless, would have followed this advice; but his wife and Baukir Khan, by threats of depriving him of his wealth and imputations of cowardice, prevailed upon him to answer the navob's letters by insults and defiance. Mahabut Jung upon this, leaving his brother Hajee Ahmud and his nephew Shawamut Jung in charge of his capital, moved with an army towards Cuttac.

On intelligence of his approach, Moorshud Koollee Khan having summoned his friends to a consultation, laid his sabre before them, and after inveighing against the usurpation and treachery of Mahabut Jung, declared his intentions of opposing him, should they be firm in support and attachment; but otherwise, to retire to some place of security with his family. The assembly unanimously assured him of their fidelity and readiness to engage in war, and the chiefs of the army at his request regirt the sabre round his waist. After this, he moved from Cuttac, and encamped in a strong situation, surrounded by thick woods and a river, fortifying his camp with nearly three hundred pieces of cannon.

Mahabut Jung speedily arrived on the bank of the river, within a few miles of the enemy, and halted long, being incapable of dislodging him from his secure position. In this situation his camp was but ill supplied with provisions, the zemindars being attached to Moorshud Koollee Khan, and cutting off his convoys, so that the troops soon began to murmur. Meerza Baukir Khan, learning the dissatisfaction of the nabob's army, contrary to the remonstrances of Moorshud Koollee Khan, at length imprudently moved from his camp and offered battle; which was gladly accepted by Mahabut Jung. The engagement was long and bloody, but finally decided in favour of the latter. Moorshud Koollee Khan, his son in law, and chief dependants, made good their retreat to Balasore, a seaport town, from whence they embarked on board ships, and arrived safely at Maffulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were generously received by the fojedaur, Anwer ad Dien Khan. The raja of Ruttepore, on the borders of Orissa, hearing of their flight, with a magnanimous humanity detached a force to Cuttac, and brought off their families and treasure in safety to his residence,

residence, where he delivered them to Baukir Khan, who was sent to receive them.

Mahabut Jung after his victory marched to Cuttac, and having arranged the affairs of the province, entrusted the government to his nephew Sowlut Jung, one of the sons of Hajee Ahmud. He then returned to Moorshudabad, and employed himself in regulating the concerns of Bengal, in which he consulted the ease and satisfaction of the public. To the women and dependants of the late nabob he granted liberal allowances, and allotted them lands and houses at Dacca, where they retired. Nuffeza Begum, sister to Alla ad Dowlah, having accepted the superintendence of the haram of Shawamut Jung, was treated with the highest respect, and the revenue of the 'Khaus Ta-look and all estates bought by her grandfather, Jaffier Khan, left at her disposal. A son of her brother's, born on the day of his death, whom she had adopted, was permitted to reside with her, and treated with parental fondness by Mahabut Jung and his nephew.

Sowlut Jung, in his government of Cuttac did not act with that prudence becoming his situation. He vexed the adherents of Moorshud Koollee Khan, who had remained in the province under promise of not being molested in their estates, by fines and extortion, on pretence that they had secreted money belonging to their late chief; and, being much addicted to pleasure, was guilty of excesses in procuring women for his haram from the inhabitants. To these oppressions he added an impolitic neglect of the troops stationed with him by his uncle, in lessening their pay to garrison allowance, which gave great disgust, so that numbers left his service. Their places he filled with

* A district round Moorshudabad, of which Jaffier Khan had purchased the proprietary.

with natives of Cuttac, who, for the satisfaction of living at home, accepted of a trifling salary. These men were secretly attached to the late governor, whose son in law now resided on the borders of the province, in hopes of opportunity offering to renew his attempts. The conduct of Sowlut Jung becoming daily more oppressive to the people, they at length invited Moorshud Koollee Khan to return; but he was too fond of his present retirement to hazard his person, and rejected their offers. They then had recourse to Baukir Khan, who gladly accepted their promises of support; and measures were so secretly contrived, that Sowlut Jung was suddenly taken prisoner in his palace in a general insurrection of the people, and delivered to Baukir Khan, who assumed the government of Cuttac.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of this event, lost no time in preparing to remedy the disaster. His brother Hajee Ahmud, and the mother of Sowlut Jung, apprehensive for the safety of their son, would have prevailed upon him to give up Orissa to Baukir Khan on promise of allegiance, and attributed his success to aids he had received from Nizam al Moolk, whom it would be impolitic to displease, as it might bring upon him the force of Dekkan and loss of Bengal; but he paid no attention to their advice. In a short time his forces were ready; and, having left Shawamut Jung in the command of Moorshudabad, he began his march at the head of twenty thousand horse and foot. As an encouragement to his chiefs, he had ordered them to make considerable additions to their corps, and promised a reward of a lac of rupees to the person who should recover Sowlut Jung from captivity, and if he should be the commander of a corps, to give two months pay additionally to each man.

Baukir Khan, on the approach of the 'navob, entrenched himself on the banks of the Mahanuddee; but having little hope of success against so powerful an enemy, sent off his baggage and family to Dekkan. Resolved that Sowlut Jung should not survive his defeat, he placed him in a covered ^{*}rutt, under the charge of two Moguls, who had orders to kill him, should the troops of Mahabut Jung pursue and come up with them. To make his death the surer, he privately ordered the escort of horse who guarded the carriage, on the approach of an enemy, to thrust their spears into it, and destroy both the victim and the executioners. Mahabut Jung attacked the entrenchments of Baukir Khan, who was deserted in an instant by his troops, too much intimidated to make resistance; and the victors pursued so closely, that they speedily overtook the escort of Sowlut Jung, when numerous spears were thrust into the carriage, and one of the Moguls was killed, but Sowlut Jung escaped unhurt, by the wounded man's falling upon him. The other Mogul was slightly wounded, and made his escape, while the pursuers were releasing their recovered prince. Mahabut Jung having returned thanks for his easy victory, and the safety of his nephew from such imminent danger, sent him, with a considerable force for his protection, to his parents at Moorshudabad, not thinking it prudent to entrust him again with the government of Cuttac. The women and family of Sowlut Jung, who had been detained prisoners in a fortress, were released on news of the victory by the garrison, and escorted safely to him. The navob, having regulated the affairs of the recovered province, gave the deputation of it to an officer of experience, named Mahummud Mafoom; and apprehending no new danger near, permitted most of the troops to retire to their homes, while he, with only his principal chiefs and about five thousand horse, marched slowly towards his capital, enjoying the

^{*} A carriage drawn by oxen.

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the amusement of hunting on the way; but this calm was suddenly overcast by storms, which threatened his destruction, and the desolation of the provinces.

Mahabut Jung was encamped near Midnapore, when intelligence arrived that Boskar Pundit had been detached by Ragojee Bhoselah, the Mharatta chief of Berar, at the head of forty thousand horse, to demand the ^achoute of Bengal, and was rapidly advancing towards him; but the nabob, not expecting that they would enter by Orissa, was little alarmed at the report, as he had received advice of their intention to pass through Bahar, and had intended on his return to the capital to take measures to resist them, for which he fancied he should have ample time before they could reach that province. In this, however, he was mistaken, as an express suddenly arrived that the enemy was within twenty coss of his camp. Mahabut Jung upon this hastened his march to Burdwan, a considerable town, intending to place in it his heavy baggage, and engage the Mharattas. Shortly after his arrival they appeared, and laid waste the environs of the camp with fire and sword. Some skirmishes took place with little loss on either side; the enemy, whose object was plunder only, not chusing to risk a general action. Some days passed in this manner, when Boskar Raow proposed evacuating the country for a contribution of ten lacs of rupees, but this was refused; and Mahabut Jung resolved to push his way to Moorshudabad, where he could recruit his scattered force. He issued orders for the greatest part of the heavy baggage and camp followers to remain at Burdwan, but in vain, as they were too much alarmed to trust themselves in the town; but the consequence of their disobedience was nearly fatal. On the first day's march, the Mharattas surrounded the line, and
Mahabut

^a A fourth part of the revenues, which the Mharattas demanded from every province. This claim is explained in the account of Dekkan.

Mahabut Jung, unable to defend the numerous crowd of useless attendants and market people of his army, now reduced to less than five thousand fighting men, had the mortification of losing the chief part of his baggage, artillery, and tents. When he halted for the night, only a small tent could be procured for his reception. He now dispatched a messenger with offers to pay the ten lacks of rupees to the Mharattas; but Boskar Raow refused, and demanded a *corore, with all the elephants belonging to the navob. Mahabut Jung refused such degrading concessions, and the next day proceeded on his march, which was harassed as usual, and what little baggage remained fell a prey to the enemy; who, however, could make no impression on the main body, and were often repulsed from the charge. For three days a running fight was kept up, during which the greatest distress for provisions and shelter from heavy rain was experienced by the troops of Mahabut Jung. On the fourth he reached Cutwa, which the Mharattas had laid waste, and destroyed large magazines of grain by fire; but enough remained, though in a parched state, to be an acceptable supply to an army almost perishing with hunger. Here the navob encamped, on the bank of the river Bhaugruttee, secured by his position from further insult of the enemy; and having written to his capital of the situation he was in, Sowlut Jung joined him expeditiously with a considerable reinforcement, and plentiful supplies of provisions from the opposite bank of the river, which was yet unmolested by the enemy.

Boskar Pundit, the Mharatta general, from the fear of passing the rains in the country of an enemy who had so gallantly opposed him, would have now retreated to Berar; but Meer Hubbeeb, an officer of Mahabut Jung's, who had been taken prisoner and accepted the service of the Mharattas ad-

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* "Upwards of a million sterling.

vised him to remain, offering to provide subsistence for his army, and to guide a detachment to Moorshudabad, which might easily be plundered, it being unfortified. Boskar relished his proposal, and entrusted him with the command of some thousand horse. The navob, having intelligence of this design, left Cutwa, and hastened to the capital, where he arrived one day after Meer Hubbeeb, who had already plundered the suburbs, especially the factory of Juggut Seet, to the amount of three lacs of rupees. On the arrival of Mahabut Jung he retreated, and prevailed on Boskar to encamp at Cutwa for the rainy season; and the navob, satisfied with having preserved the city from plunder, deferred further operations till he could recruit his army, and strengthen the capital by new works. The enemy, while the fords permitted, two or three times advanced to Plassey and Daoodpore; not many miles distant from Moorshudabad, plundering the villages, till the swelling of the Bhaugruttee confined them to the opposite shore. During the rains, Boskar Pundit, by means of Meer Hubbeeb, possessed himself of Hughly, Injalee, and all the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore as far as Balasore, also Bheerbhoom, Rajeshawee, and Rajemahal; so that, except Moorshudabad and its environs, nothing remained to the navob west of the Ganges in Bengal; but the districts to the east of that river afforded him ample resources. The inhabitants of the capital, during the rainy season, for the most part moved with their families and effects across the Ganges for the greater security. The families, treasures, and valuables of Mahabut Jung and his relations, were also sent over that river to Godagauree, under the care of Shawamut Jung, who returned to the capital after he had provided a place of safety for them.

Mahabut Jung passed the rainy season in raising new levies and encouraging his troops; to whom he distributed ten lacs of rupees, which he had promised them when surrounded by the

the Mharattas. The dry weather had not yet commenced, when he marched from Moorshudabad, and crossed the Bhaugruttee over a bridge of boats, without opposition from the enemy, who still continued in their camp at Cutwa, which was divided from the navob's army by a deep rivulet, much swollen by the rains. Mahabut Jung during the night ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown across it, which was done without being perceived by the enemy. About midnight, Meer Jaffier Khan, Mustapha Khan, and other chiefs, at the head of a chosen body, began to cross. Half of this detachment had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when a boat in the middle of the bridge was loosened, and sunk by the weight of passengers; and the troops in the rear pressing on, numbers were pushed in and drowned, before the accident was discovered. Six hundred men are said to have perished in this manner; but such was the ardour of the troops and conduct of Mahabut Jung, that the accident was soon repaired, and by daylight the whole army had crossed, and prepared to attack the enemy. Boskar Raow was so intimidated at this bold and unexpected measure, that he fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving great part of his baggage and tents behind him, but was so rapidly pursued, as to lose a considerable number of men within two coss of Cutwa, where he tried to make a stand, but in vain, his troops flying on the navob's approach. He continued his retreat to the woods of Pacheet, and was followed by Mahabut Jung so closely, that finding it impossible to gain the passes by this route, he changed it, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, and returned into the forests of Bishehpore, so as to deceive his pursuers, and gain the open country by way of Chunderkoona into Midnapore. Here he encamped, and detached a force against Cuttac, which was but ill defended by troops; and the governor, Masoom Khan, rashly marching out with his small force, was defeated and slain.

Mahabut

Mahabut Jung having at last procured intelligence of the change of the enemy's route, marched back, and hastened to Burdwan. From thence he advanced to Midnapore, where Boskar Raow, encouraged by his late success against Masoom Khan, gave him battle, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled by way of Cuttac, to the borders of his own country. The navob, not thinking it necessary to pursue beyond his own territories, now completely evacuated by the enemy, having entrusted the government of Cuttac to Abd al Ruffool Khan, returned triumphantly to his capital. The emperor Mahummud Shaw, as a mark of approbation, now conferred upon him the title of ^a Hisham ad Dowlah, with a khelaut, sword and dagger set with jewels, also a firpeach and collar of pearls. The title of ^b Itisham ad Dowlah was conferred on Shawamut Jung, that of ^c Mahaum ad Dowlah on Sowlut Jung, and that of ^d Hitteram ad Dowlah on Hybut Jung, his three nephews; and inferior ranks and titles on the principal officers of his army.

Mahabut Jung, on the first invasion of the Mharattas, had applied to the emperor for assistance; and Suffder Jung, navob of Oude, was ordered with his troops into Bengal, but had advanced no farther than Patna, the capital of Bahar, when Boskar Raow was defeated. Mahabut Jung, encouraged by victory, now thought himself fully equal to the defence of his provinces; and informing Suffder Jung that he had no further occasion for succours, requested him to quit Patna and return home, which he did, though with some reluctance, having intended, it is said, had Mahabut Jung been worsted by his enemy, to have added Bahar to his own government. During his stay at Patna, he

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^a Force of the state.

^b Eminent in the state.

^c Regulator of the state.

^d Dignifier of the state.

had selected some pieces of artillery and elephants belonging to the deputy governor for his own use, without the consent of Mahabut Jung, and he not relishing such acts of authority in an auxiliary, was much offended, so that a coolness took place between them; and had not Suffder Jung thought proper to retreat, in all probability an open rupture would have soon succeeded his refusal.

The attempts of the Mharattas on Bengal did not end with the defeat of Boskar Raow. Ragojee Bhosela, enraged at the repulse of his general, immediately prepared a new army, at the head of which he entered Bengal without delay. At the same time, Ballajee Raow, the principal Mharatta chief, advanced with a considerable force to receive payment of a draft of eleven lacs of rupees, given by the emperor on Mahabut Jung, but with professed declarations of affording his assistance to him against the former, by orders from Dhely. Ragojee having entered the country by way of Beerboom, fixed his head quarters in the district of Burdwan, while Ballajee marched through Bahār to the bank of the Bhaugruttee, not very far from the capital. Mahabut Jung advanced to meet him, and an interview took place, at which it was agreed, that both armies should act in conjunction against Ragojee. It is supposed, the nabob paid a great sum for his alliance with this Mharatta general, whose coming to Bengal is variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the emperor's orders, in consequence of the request of Mahabut Jung; others, to the royal anger at his usurpation of the government; but it is more probable, that Ballajee was allured by the prospect of obtaining a considerable plunder in Bengal, and gratifying his enmity against the Berar chief, than that he shewed any regard

* Ballajee and Ragojee at this time were at enmity as rivals for the possession or ministry of the Mharatta states.

* One hundred and ten thousand pounds.

regard to Mahummud Shaw's approbation or dislike of the conduct of Mahabut Jung. Both armies now marched to expell Ragojee from Burdwan, and continued together for some days, when Ballajee, not liking the slow movement of the Bengal troops, took upon himself the punishment of the Berar chief, and left the navob. Ragojee fled, as he advanced, to his own country; and Mahabut Jung, having thus prudently cleared the provinces of his enemy, returned to Moorshudabad: but though he did not in this campaign suffer loss in the field, that of the revenue was great, as the unfortunate inhabitants of the defenceless villages were plundered without mercy by both the Mharatta armies; nor were their calamities yet at an end from the invaders.

Ragojee the year following again sent Boskar Raow, at the head of twenty thousand horse, to invade Bengal, but with orders to offer peace, should the navob submit to pay a heavy contribution, as he had done to Ballajee. Mahabut Jung on their approach moved with his army and encamped at Mun- kirra, only ten miles from his capital, having it in contemplation to take advantage of the desire his enemy had for money to allure the principal chiefs to an interview by promises of large sums, and cut them off by treachery; which, if effected, he could easily vanquish an army deprived of its leaders. With such views, he dispatched Mustapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram to the Mharatta camp, with proposals of peace and an invitation to Boskar Raow to come to an interview, should the terms of friendship be accepted. Boskar Raow demanded heavy contributions; to which the agents readily consented, provided he would visit Mahabut Jung, who at the same time daily sent him friendly letters and valuable presents. At length, the Mharatta, blinded by avarice, consented, and a day was appointed. The navob having communicated his intentions to his nephew

Sowlut Jung, Jaffier 'Khair, and Fakeer 'Oollah Beg, commanded them to select a confidential band of men, and draw them up within the skreens round the tent of audience, with orders to rush upon Boskar and his attendants upon a signal, which he appointed, promising liberal rewards for their obedience. At length, the day fixed being arrived, Boskar Raow moved from Cutwa with the greatest part of his army, and on his arrival near the navob's encampment, leaving his troops drawn up in order of battle, advanced with other principal chiefs and his attendants. The Bengal troops were drawn up to receive him. Near the tent of audience he dismounted, and entered the enclosure of skreens with his companions, supported by Mustapha Khan and Raja Janeggee Ram, who soon after, however, contrived to quit him. Mahabut Jung eagerly enquired as he advanced, which was Bōskar Raow? and on his being pointed out, cried out with a loud voice, "Cut down the infidel." In an instant the appointed band rushed on their victims, and Boskar Raow, with nineteen officers of rank, were slaughtered. The navob now mounted his elephant, and putting himself at the head of his troops, furiously charged the Mharatta line; which, not expecting an attack and deprived of their generals, was routed in an instant. Mahabut Jung pursued the enemy to Cutwa, their standing camp, which had been left under the command of Ragoo Gicowaur, who had uniformly refused to accompany Boskar to the fatal interview. Being informed of the fate of his general, he fled with precipitation, and evacuated the provinces without attempting to revenge the massacre. Mahabut Jung returned to Moorshudabad, and having distributed ten lacs of rupees, as a gratuity to the troops, conferred liberal rewards on those chiefs who had assisted mostly in the completion of his insidious and bloody victory. Hajee Ahmud about this time being offended at his brother, for refusing him the sojedaury of Hughly, though he had a greater revenue than he

could

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could expend, and the office he desired was conferred on his own son Sowlut Jung, who had been without any consequential employment since his unfortunate administration at Cuttac, retired in disgust to Patna, where he devoted himself in his old age to sensual enjoyments.

Mahabut Jung, now freed from foreign enemies, was assiduously employed in the regulation of his provinces, and forming plans for the repair of that desolation which the Mharattas had spread through all the districts west of the river Ganges; but a storm soon arose within his own dominions, which was more threatening to his power than the armies of Dekkan. He had, in order to attach his chiefs to his interest during the war, been lavish of his favours, and more so of promises of future rewards; but which, now finding inconvenient to fulfil, he broke through; which gave offence to many, but particularly to his principal general, Mustapha Khan.

Mustapha Khan had been constantly the chief counsellor and agent of Mahabut Jung. To his fidelity and valour he in great measure owed his acquisition of the musnud of Bèngal, and his success over the Mharatta invaders. To his address he was indebted also for the decisive, but treacherous blow, given to his enemies, by the late assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers; and, it is said, that for this last service he had promised him the government of Bahar, which was held by his nephew and son in law, Hybut Jung. The general was pressing for the performance of his promise, and in such a manner, as shewed he rather esteemed himself the partner in authority than servant of the navob. He interfered also, by his recommendations of persons to office, with the plans of Mahabut Jung, who granted many favours to his importunity, but every compliance was instantly succeeded by new requests; so that the navob was in danger

danger of becoming a tool in the hands of his general, a situation which his high spirit could not brook. To such a pitch had Mustapha Khan carried his influence, that the zemindars of Bengal, when the dewan, or revenue collectors, pushed them for payment, or enforced arrangements, they did not chuse, however necessary and just, bribed him to screen them from the resentment of the navob; who, to please his minister, (whom he wished not to disgust in a season of danger) too often repealed his own orders, to the injury of his treasury and authority, inasmuch that the civil officers of government became of little consequence in the eyes of the renters. Mahabut Jung bore with the evil till it was becoming dangerous; but on the general's demanding the province of Bahar, he was obliged to refuse, fearing, from his own conduct in a similar situation, that Mustapha Khan would finally direct the force which that government would give him, against his patron, as he himself had done against the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. He endeavoured, however, by every means to satisfy him for his breach of promise, but in vain. Mustapha Khan had resolved to establish himself in Bahar, and would not be put off. It is said, that he had even views upon Bengal, to satisfy which he would not have spared the life of his master. Jealousies now took place, and each party became suspicious of the other's intentions, knowing that assassination was an engine they each could make use of without remorse, and which, perhaps, both watched an opportunity to employ. Appearances of regard were however kept up between the navob and his general; but the latter now always went well guarded in his visits to court. At length, an accident brought affairs to a crisis, which produced an open rupture.

Mustapha Khan, one day intending to pay his respects to the navob, dispatched before him two of his principal officers, to observe

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observe the state of the audience chamber, and remark if there were signs of treachery against him; a precaution he had used since the coolness had taken place. The officers having made their obeisance to the prince, sat down to wait the arrival of the general, when, just as it was announced, a eunuch came from the interior apartments, and informed Mahabut Jung, that his Begum was suddenly taken ill, and desired to see him, the navob rose up, and, retiring, desired that the officers would excuse him for a few minutes to their general. At this instant, the tread of feet and uncommon rustling was heard in the passage to the haram, which the officers, ever suspicious of treachery, supposing to proceed from armed men concealed to assassinate their lord, and the navob's departure giving colour to their apprehensions, they rushed out, and informed Mustapha Khan, who was now alighting in the court, of their fears. The general, prepared for alarm by the consciousness of his own evil designs, remounted; and, hastening precipitately to his cantonments, refused to return, though the navob, who had almost instantaneously come back to the chamber of audience, dispatched after him his nephew Shawamut Jung to inform him that he was waiting to receive him, and anxious to enquire the cause of his sudden departure, with solemn assurances, that no treachery had been intended. On the return of his nephew, Mahabut Jung would have gone in person to persuade him of his sincerity; but the entreaties of his family, who were alarmed for his safety, prevailed upon him to give up that hazardous design. Every trial was made to calm the apprehensions of the general, but in vain; and he now openly declared his intentions of quitting the navob's service with his friends, and demanded the arrears of pay due to himself and followers. Mahabut Jung gladly complied with his wishes, and paid without delay ^a seventeen lacs of rupees, without examining his accounts; at the same time

^a One hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

time commanding him, as he was resolved to leave his service, to quit his dominions. Mustapha Khan, emboldened by the readiness with which the nabob satisfied his demands, and regarding it as a proof of weakness and fear, made proposals to the Afghaun commanders of corps to depose Mahabut Jung, and divide his territories equally among them. Shumsheer Khan, a considerable chief, agreed to join him; but the rest, as Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and others, declined, saying, that if Mahabut Jung had injured him by withholding his just demands, they would readily have assisted him in enforcing redress; but to mutiny for no cause, or behave ungratefully to their benefactor, they esteemed base and dishonourable. The nabob took care to improve this good disposition by present gratuities and promises of favour to the loyal chiefs and their followers; but, not willing to hazard the safety of his capital by proceeding to extremities against the rebel, was content to guard the city from insult, and wait patiently for his departure. At length, Mustapha Khan, having used every art, but without effect, to corrupt the army, marched from Moorshudabad with upwards of eight thousand horse and a great number of foot, having previously set fire to his cantonments, with the intention of possessing himself of Bahar. The inhabitants of the city, who during the quarrel had been under the greatest alarm for their persons and property, received new life from his departure. The nabob, having liberally rewarded his troops for their fidelity, particularly Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and Shumsheer Khan, who had been gained over from joining the rebel, now prepared to pursue him. After a few days, leaving the city in charge of his nephew Shawamut Jung, he began his march; at the same time writing to Hybut Jung, governor of Patna, the capital of Bahar, not to hazard an engagement in the field, and if he thought that city not defensible, to cross the river, and move down the opposite bank, till he could form a junction with his grand army.

Mustapha

Mustapha Khan having plundered Rajmahal, and taken some elephants and cannon stationed there to his own use, proceeded to Monghyr, of which he gained possession with little loss, the fortress being in a ruinous state. He next advanced towards Patna, hoping to make an easy conquest of that city; but intelligence of his defection having reached Hybut Jung, who was then engaged in some operations on the opposite bank of the Ganges, he returned expeditiously, and encamped near the town, resolved, notwithstanding the contrary advice of his uncle the nabob, to oppose the enemy, however superior in number. He dispatched a messenger to Mustapha Khan, desiring to know his intentions, declaring, that if they were to seize the city, he must produce the imperial orders for his conduct, before it should be given up; but, if his design was only to pass through the province into Benaras or Oude, he was welcome to pursue his route any way but through the capital. The rebel insolently replied, "That he thought it incumbent upon him to destroy heretics like Mahabut Jung; and as the scripture saith, 'Territory is for him who can conquer it,' there was no occasion for the imperial grant." He concluded by asking, "By what authority was his uncle supported in seizing Bengal, and murdering his sovereign Serferauz Khan?"

Hybut Jung, not intimidated at the rebel's approach, prepared to receive him, though his army did not consist of more than five or six thousand horse, great part of them new levies, raised in a hurry, and inexperienced. The enemy soon appeared,

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^a Mustapha Khan was a Soonni, the sectaries of which are advocates for the justice of the succession to the prophet of the three first kaliphs, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osmaun, in prejudice to Alee, the prophet's son in law. Mahabut Jung was of the Sheea sect, who regard Alee as the successor of the prophet, and even his equal in holiness. The superstitious among them even say, that God commissioned the angel Gabriel to deliver his revelation to Alee, but that he, by mistake, gave it to Mahummud.

ed, and attacked his camp without delay; when Hybut Jung was deserted by all his troops, except a few hundred veterans who guarded his person, on the first onset. Mustapha Khan was furiously charging this small body, when his elephant driver being killed by a musquet shot, the animal became unruly, and at the same time two of his principal officers, Oudal Shaw and Hakeem Shaw, were mortally wounded. Unable to manage his elephant, he alighted in order to mount a horse; but his troops, on missing him from his howdah, supposed him slain, were seized with a panic, and retreated in confusion towards their own camp. Mustapha Khan endeavoured in vain to rally and convince them of their error, but was obliged to retire. Hybut Jung, not thinking it prudent to pursue, was contented with the repulse of the enemy, and remained within his lines. A distant cannonade and skirmishing was kept up for seven days between the two armies, but on the eighth, the rebel, after sending off his baggage and tents some miles to the westward of Patna, again attacked the lines of Hybut Jung, who defended his post with gallantry and resolution. Mustapha Khan, still unfortunate, in the beginning of the assault was wounded in the eye with an arrow, which obliged him to retreat; and having now intelligence of the near approach of Mahabut Jung, he judged it best to give over his designs on Patna, and march towards the frontier of Bahar. He was soon pursued by the united forces of the navob and his nephew from place to place, till he had passed the borders into the territories of Suffder Jung; not chusing to hazard an engagement, as his troops were dispirited by their late repulses, and the loss of their two principal chiefs. He expected also to be soon joined by a body of Mharattas, in conjunction with whom he hoped to be more successful at a future period. He retired under the

walls

* A seat used on elephants.

walls of the fortress of ^a Chunar, and Mahabut Jung did not chuse to run the risk of embroiling himself with the navob of Oude by carrying the pursuit into his dominions.

The navob had scarcely returned to Patna, when he received intelligence, that Ragojee Bhosela, encouraged by assurances of assistance from Mustapha Khan, and eager to revenge the assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers, had marched towards Bengal with a large army, and was rapidly advancing. Mahabut Jung, leaving Hybut Jung to defend Bahar and watch the motions of the rebel, hastened to Moorshudabad for the defence of that city, and prevent, if possible, a junction of the Mharattas with Mustapha Khan. At the same time he sent an ambassador to endeavour to divert Ragojee from his invasion; but that chief, supposing Bengal to be in a state of disaffection, and the offers of the navob to proceed from fear, demanded the unreasonable sum of ^a three corores of rupees as the price of his forbearance. Mahabut Jung, though resolved not to consent to terms so exorbitant and dishonourable, yet willing to gain time, in hopes that the rainy season, now near, would stop the Mharatta from action, and allow him effectually to punish Mustapha Khan, instructed his ambassador to amuse Ragojee with professions of compliance. In consequence of this, nearly two months were wasted in negotiation at Burdwan, where the enemy encamped; and, at the expiration of that time, Mahabut Jung received the happy intelligence of the defeat and death of Mustapha Khan, who had with great additions to his former force invaded Bahar, thinking to make it an easy conquest, as the invasion of the Mharattas would prevent succours being sent from Bengal; but the abilities and good fortune of Hybut Jung prevailed against him.

^a Chunar is a district in Benares, and will be long celebrated in India for having been the refuge of Mr. Hastings during the rebellion of Cheyt Sing.

^b Three millions sterling.

The navob, who had continued at his capital in order to convince Ragojee that he was sincere in his desire of peace, now ordered his ambaffador to return, and sent him this vaunting message: "Those who seek peace from an enemy, are guided either by a sense of their own loss or inferiority, or hopes of advantage; but, praised be God, the heroes of the faith feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace therefore depends upon this, When the lions of Illaum shall so engage, the monsters of idolatry, that they shall swim in the blood of each other, and struggle till one party shall, overpowered, beg for quarter." Ragojee replied, "that to obtain this crisis, he had already advanced near a thousand miles from his own country; but the navob had not yet moved one hundred, to do him the honours of a meeting." Mahabut Jung rejoined, "that the rainy season being arrived, and Ragojee having suffered fatigue and inconvenience from his long march, it would be prudent for him to spend the inclement months in some convenient spot, that his troops might refresh, and prepare for engagement in the dry season, when he would respectfully wait upon him, even to his own dominions." Ragojee, accordingly, encamped in Beerbhoom, and reduced the province of Cuttac and most of Burdwan by his detachments.

A. D. 1745. . . In the beginning of the cool season of 1158, Mahabut Jung marched from his capital to offer battle to the enemy. Ragojee had by this time moved into Bahar, in order to form a junction with the remains of Mustapha Khan's adherents, who still continued to infest the hilly part of that province under Mortuzza Khan, son to the deceased chief, and Bullund Khan, a principal officer, but were too weak to venture into the open country alone. The navob, not being able to overtake the Mharattas, encamped at Baukipore, a short distance west of Patna, for some time; but on hearing that the enemy had crossed

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crossed the Soane to join the Afghauns, he proceeded to Mohib Aleepore, on the banks of that river.

Ragojee having effected his purpose of joining the rebels, advanced towards the navob's army in great force, and several engagements took place, in all which the latter was victorious, particularly in one, when the Mharatta general was so completely surrounded that he must have been taken prisoner, had not Shumsheer Khan and Serdaur Khan, two of Mahabut Jung's officers, who were privately negotiating a treaty with the enemy, purposely let him escape. This discovery of treachery alarmed the navob, and he again offered terms to the Mharatta, but Ragojee would not accept them; and seeing no advantage in opposing Mahabut Jung in the field, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, he proceeded suddenly by quick marches towards Moorshudabad, in hopes of being able to plunder that city before the navob could reach it with his army. Mahabut Jung, however, moved with such expedition, that he arrived only one day after the enemy, who had only time to ravage part of the suburbs, and retreated, on his approach, across the river Bhau-gruttee. The navob followed Ragojee to Cutwa, near which he obliged him to engage, and defeated him with great slaughter, when the Mharatta retreated towards Midnapore. Here, having received intelligence of insurrections in his own country, Ragojee returned hastily to Berar with the bulk of his army, leaving Meer Hubbeeb and the Afghaun chiefs for the defence of Cuttac; upon which the navob, giving up for the present the recovery of that province, returned to his capital, in order to refresh his troops and correct some abuses which he had discovered among his principal officers.

It has been already mentioned, that Serdaur Khan and Shumsheer Khan, during the campaign had suffered Ragojee to escape, when

when they might have made him prisoner. The navob had also, while the Mharattas were in the neighbourhood of the capital, entrusted the protection of the roads between it and Bogwaungolah, from whence the city was furnished with supplies from the districts eastward of the Ganges, to those officers, who, either through neglect or design, allowed the marauders more than once to plunder the convoys. The navob, upon this, removed them from that duty, which he entrusted to his nephew Sowlut Jung, who fulfilled it to his satisfaction, and intercepted letters from Ragojee to the former commanders, which proved their connivance. Mahabut Jung had concealed his suspicions till the retreat of the Mharattas; but, upon his return to Moorshudabad, he dismissed them with their followers, about six thousand men, from his service, but allowed them to retire to their homes in the district of Durbunga, on the eastern side of the Ganges, in the province of Bahar. In this season of temporary repose were celebrated the marriages of his grandson, Serauje ad Dowlah, and Ikraum ad Dowlah, son to the late navob Alla ad Dowlah, who had been adopted by Shawamut Jung, who had no children. Upwards of two thousand rich dresses were distributed on this occasion among the attendants at court, and, during a whole month, the populace were feasted at the expense of the navob. The magnificence of these nuptials, the brilliant illuminations, splendid pageants, and grand processions of the bridegrooms, are still spoken of with admiration by the inhabitants of Bengal.

Mahabut Jung, having now resolved to attempt the expulsion of the Mharattas and Afghauns from Cuttac, appointed *Meer Jaffier Khan to the command of a considerable detachment for that service, giving him, by way of encouragement, the

* The same person who, after the decease of Mahabut Jung, by the assistance of the English, acquired the musnud of Bengal.

the fojedaurees of Injalee and Midnapore, in addition to the office of paymaster general. Meer Jaffier, on his arrival at Midnapore, defeated a small body of the enemy, when, being much addicted to luxury and indolence, he did not pursue his advantage, but put his troops into cantonments, though the navob ordered him to proceed to Cuttac without delay, before the enemy could be reinforced from Berar, the chief's son of which, Janojee, was preparing for a fresh invasion. At length, the expected Mharatta army entered Cuttac, and Meer Jaffier, not chusing to hazard the defence of Midnapore, retreated towards Burdwan, when the advanced party of the enemy, observing his pusillanimity, hung upon his rear, and plundered his baggage of several elephants. Mahabut Jung, upon this, dispatched Atta Oollah Khan with a reinforcement, to supersede him in the command, and moved also himself from the capital with his army, to support him, if necessary. Atta Oollah at Burdwan engaged the enemy, and defeated them; but having secretly designs on the government, the accession to which he had been foretold by a fanatic officer in his service, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, he thought the present a proper occasion to assume independance. For this purpose, he endeavoured to corrupt Meer Jaffier by a promise of the government of Bahar, if he would assist in deposing the navob. Meer Jaffier at first listened to the proposal, but, at the remonstrances of his friends on the danger of the attempt, withdrew his concurrence. Intelligence of this treacherous combination, however, having reached Mahabut Jung, he determined to lessen their influence, and on his arrival at Burdwan, reprimanded Meer Jaffier severely for his conduct in Midnapore, upon which that chief refrained from his usual attendance at the durbar. Atta Oollah Khan, proud of his late victory, and not suspecting that his evil designs were known to the navob, demanded the command of a thousand horse for Meer Alee Afgir, the fanatic officer who had

had prophesied his exaltation, and had greatly distinguished himself in the action; but this the navob refused, and Atta Oollah being disgusted, threatened to leave the army. Mahabut Jung was not to be moved, and he accordingly retired with his followers to Moorshudabad. The navob would now have overlooked the faults of Meer Jaffier, and, on the death of a relation, condescendingly went to pay him a visit of condolance, as a mark of returning favour; but that chief, supposing this honour to proceed from a dread of his influence, insolently neglected the complimentary advance from his tent to meet him; on which the navob, in great wrath, laid aside his intentions, after he had gone half way, and returned to his camp. He now ordered him to give in the accounts of his office, and send Shujan Sing, his deputy, with them to the durbar. Meer Jaffier refused; upon which the navob removed him from all his employments, and offered service to his followers in other corps, which they readily embraced. The general, finding himself deserted, would have made concessions, but the navob ordered him to leave the army, and retire to the capital.

Mahabut Jung, notwithstanding this dissention and the loss of two of his generals, kept the field, and defeated the Mharattas in several engagements. Janojee attempted, like his father, to plunder the capital; but the navob followed him with such rapidity, that he had not time to execute his designs; and, on the approach of the rains, retired to Midnapore, where he cantoned, and Mahabut Jung marched to Moorshudabad, not chusing to pursue him farther till the dry season. Meer Alec Asgir, the prophesying fanatic, was now obliged by the navob to quit the provinces, though Shawamut Jung used every entreaty with his uncle to allow him to remain in the city with Atta Oollah Khan, whom the navob yet permitted to reside there.

near the city; when Hybut Jung again visited *Serdaur Khan. The two next days were chosen for the generals to pay their respects to him separately, at the palace, and the navob, in order to obviate any fears they might have of treachery, commanded that only his domestic servants should attend him, even to the exclusion of his usual body guards. Serdaur Khan came the first day, and having received the customary tokens of esteem, returned to his camp. The following morning Hybut Jung repaired to his hall of audience, to receive the promised visit of Shumsheer Khan, and, as on the day before, would not permit any guards to attend, allowing only a few officers of his household to be present. First came nearly a thousand of the Afghaun infantry, with matchlocks and matches lighted, who, after saluting, arranged themselves in the square of the palace. A chief, named Moraud Sheer Khan, next entered, with a crowd of officers, who filled the hall, and eagerly pressed to present their offerings. This being done, Hybut Jung enquired after Shumsheer Khan, and was told he was not far off. Moraud Sheer Khan now ordered his companions to take leave, and make room for others. They rose, and according to custom, received each a betel from Hybut Jung, who was earnest in distributing it, when one of the Afghauns, suddenly drawing a dagger, aimed a stroke at him, but without effect. One of the navob's attendants immediately cried out "Treachery;" but Hybut Jung had only time to draw his sabre, when Moraud Sheer Khan cut him down, and he fell dead on the pillow of his musnud. Several of his attendants were slain; and the palace being filled with the traitors, also the streets of the city by the soldiers of Shumsheer Khan, no resistance could be made by the dependants of Hybut Jung. The Afghauns committed great excesses in the town, the inhabitants of which had no remedy

* It is said, this chief was not a partner in the treason, as far as respected the assassination.

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medy but to submit to their authority. Shumsheer Khan ordered Hajee Ahmud to be brought before him, and demanded an account of his treasure ; but, declining a discovery, he was tortured in various modes for seventeen days, till at length he expired, not unjustly punished for his treachery, and share in the murder of the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. About a seventy lacs of rupees were found buried in his house, besides jewels and other valuables to a great amount. The effects of Hybut Jung were seized, and his Begum Ameena, the daughter of Mahabut Jung, with his other women, forcibly carried to the camp of Shumsheer Khan ; who, leaving the city under charge of his deputy, fixed his head quarters at a little distance, and engaged in raising new levies with the plunder he had acquired, intending to invade Bengal. The wealthy inhabitants of Patna were obliged to pay large sums, to save their houses from being plundered, and a heavy contribution was exacted from the people at large by the rebels.

Mahabut Jung, though inwardly deeply affected at the deaths of his brother and nephew, the disgraceful captivity of his daughter, and the loss of Bahar, threatened also with that of Bengal by the invasion of the Mharattas at this alarming crisis, did not lose his intrepidity of mind, but sustained the storms of calamity with manly resolution, and prepared to combat the attacks of misfortune. He convened his principal officers, some of whom he had reason to suppose connected with the rebels, being of the same tribes, and desired their advice for his conduct in the present unhappy juncture of his affairs. They unanimously declared, that they would loyally obey his commands. He replied, that his beloved brother and nephew being slain, and their families plunged in disgraceful captivity, he found life, under

such misfortunes unrevenged, intolerable, therefore knew no remedy but to punish the rebels, or die in the attempt. If therefore any wished to follow him to this extremity, he would spare nothing to reward them; but neither would he detain those who might chuse to quit his service, having already received more obligations from them than he could repay; and as he had resolved to seek death rather than lead a dishonourable life, but few followers were necessary to enable him to obtain the former. The chiefs, one and all, exclaimed, "that they owed him inviolable gratitude for his long experienced bounty towards them, and had no views but to sacrifice their lives if necessary in his service;" to perform which, they bound themselves by oath on the Koraun. Mahabut Jung, now convinced of their fidelity, paid up their arrears, and prepared to march against the rebels. The Mharattas by this time had advanced from Burdwan, and began to lay waste within a short distance from the capital; but the nabob knowing that to follow these marauders, who always avoided coming to action, would be vain, and give time to the rebels in Bahar to gather strength, was not to be diverted from his purpose. He stationed Sowlut Jung at Bogwaungolah, to preserve the communication for supplies open between the Ganges and the city, which he entrusted to Shawamut Jung, Atta Oollah, and Nowauzuff Mahummud Khan, with a body of five thousand horse. A proclamation was issued, that he found it necessary to march against the rebels, though the Mharattas were in the environs of the city; and, recommending, to such as chose it, to retire with their families to places of greater security, previous to his departure. Most of the inhabitants who could procure conveyance, accordingly moved with their families and effects across the Ganges; so that scarce any but the soldiery and poor remained. Having finished his preparations, he moved from Amaunee Gunge, with an army of twenty thousand horse and

as many foot. In order to secure provisions, he had collected a large fleet of boats, amply laden, to accompany his march up the banks of the Ganges. Meer Jaffier on this occasion was again taken into favour, restored to command, and the office of paymaster general.

Mahabut Jung reached Monghyr without opposition, except in a trifling skirmish with the Mharattas at Bhaugulpore, who had marched to join the rebels. Here a messenger was intercepted with letters from Atta Oollah Khan to the insurgents, in which he encouraged them to stand, and offered to embrace their cause at a convenient opportunity. The navob was joined at Monghyr by some of the Bahar zemindars and dependants of the late Hybut Jung, who informed him, that the rebels had left Patna, and were encamped at Bar, in number about fifty thousand horse and foot, expecting to be joined by the Mharattas.

Janojee and Meer Hubbeeb having reached the vicinity of the rebels' camp, invited them to a conference, at which they embraced the service of the Mharatta chief, and Shumsheer Khan was invested by him with the khelaut of the soubahdary of Bahar. The next day Meer Hubbeeb visited Shumsheer Khan, who after his audience left him to repose, but privately directed the guard over the tents, when he should prepare to return to his own camp, to detain him, as a security for the payment of the expenses he had incurred in levying an army for the service of the Mharattas, at whose instigation he pretended he had assassinated Hybut Jung. This scheme by some means coming to the knowledge of an attendant of Meer Hubbeeb, he directed some of the horsemen who had accompanied him, to leave the camp, but to return suddenly, as if pursued by an enemy, and spread an alarm that the navob's army was in fight; in hopes that, by this stratagem, he might save his master from the

the intended treachery. The horsemen spread the alarm, as directed, and much confusion occurred in the rebel's camp; but notwithstanding the representations of Meer Hubbeeb, that the present was no time for settling accounts, he was not allowed to depart till he had paid a considerable sum, and given the security of merchants for a much greater. This dispute proved highly favourable to Mahabut Jung, by preventing the Mharattas from acting in conjunction with the rebels, as the former now resolved to watch only an opportunity for plundering either army. The following day the navob offered battle to the enemy, and, by his usual good fortune, Serdaur Khan was killed by a matchlock ball in the beginning of the action, which involved one half of the rebels in confusion, and spread alarm through the troops of Shumsheer Khan. At this juncture the Mharattas appeared in the rear, hoping to effect the plunder of the navob's camp, while he was engaged. Upon Serauje ad Dowlah's representing that it was proper to detach a body to oppose them, he replied, "that he would first defeat his enemy in front, and then with ease disperse the Mharattas." Having said this, he charged the rebels with great fury, and they fled panic-struck before him. Shumsheer Khan, being deserted, was attacked on his elephant by an officer named Hubbeeb Beg, who slew him, and cutting off his head, brought it to Mahabut Jung. The Mharattas, seeing the defeat of the rebels, withdrew from the field without striking a blow, and the navob quietly took possession of the Afghaun camp; which they had left standing, with all their tents and baggage, a prey to the victors. Here the navob found his daughter, the Begum of Hybut Jung, and the rest of his family, who had been made prisoners at Patna. Having offered up thanks for this, on his side, almost bloodless victory, and the happy retrieval of his insulted honour, he proceeded to Patna, where he distributed large sums to the religious and poor, in gratitude to God for his success, and took

measures for repairing the losses of government in the late rebellion. Having sent for the women and children of the principal insurgents from Derbunga, on their arrival he lodged them in his own haram, treating them with humanity and kindness, and after a short time set them at liberty. At this time also, he permitted the women and family of Meer Hubbeeb, who had been confined since his joining the Mharattas, to return to him, and furnished them with money, conveyances, and an escort for their protection to the enemy's camp. Having resettled the government of Bahar, he returned triumphantly to Moorshudabad; but, previously to entering the city, obliged Atta Oollah Khan to quit it, and, as soon as possible, his dominions; permitting him, however, to remove with all his effects and nearly * seventy lacs of rupees, which he had acquired in his service, though he had repeated proofs of his having conspired against his life and government. Atta Oollah Khan retired into the province of Oude, and was soon afterwards slain, in an action in the service of Suffder Jung against the Patans of Ferokhabad. Janojee, the Mharatta chief, after the defeat of Shumsheer Khan, not thinking himself equal to Mahabut Jung in the field, retired with his army into Midnapore; and soon after, on receiving intelligence of the death of his mother, marched to Nagpore, leaving Meer Hubbeeb with a detachment for the defence of Cuttac. The nabob stationed a considerable body of troops at Burdwan, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Mahabut Jung, at the conclusion of the rains, moved again from his capital, in order to drive the Mharattas from Cuttac; and, on his approach, they evacuated the city. He followed them from place to place, during the dry season, without being able to bring them to action; but on his return to Moorshudabad

A. H. 1
A. D. 1

* Seven hundred thousand pounds.

abad, the enemy again obtained possession of the province. Bengal was this year free from their depredations; a point, which the navob esteemed an ample reward for the fatigues of his campaign. The next year he renewed his efforts, and the marauders evaded his pursuit as usual; which made the navob resolve to canton for the rains at Midnapore: but buildings were scarcely erected, when he received intelligence that Serauje ad Dowlah, his favourite grandson, had left Moorshudabad, with intentions of taking possession of Patna, which was governed in his name by Jaunejee Ram, and assuming independance.

Mahabut Jung, who loved his grandson to distraction, was more alarmed for his safety in any opposition he might receive from the governor of Patna, than any ill consequences to himself from the rebellion. He instantly left his army at Midnapore, and with a small force hastened to Moorshudabad, where he remained only one day to refresh his troops, and then followed the imprudent youth; to whom he wrote in terms of the greatest affection, assuring him that he meant him for his successor, and entreating him to return to his protection. Serauje ad Dowlah wrote an insolent reply, in which he accused the navob of promoting his uncles to offices of trust, and treating him only with pretended fondness; that he was weary of being controuled like a child; and, since he would not give him a share in authority, he was resolved to seize what he regarded as his just right. Therefore, he hoped his grandfather would not attempt to oppose him, as the consequence must be, that either he would have his head in his bosom, or his own must be laid at the feet of the elephant of Mahabut Jung. The navob returned for answer, that Serauje ad Dowlah through imprudence and want of judgment had causelessly accused him of want of regard; for he not only intended him the succession to his own dominions, but to the government of the empire, could

could he obtain it for him. He concluded his letter with the following sentences. "The religious champion, eager for martyrdom, is unmindful that the martyr to love exceeds him. In the last day they will not be compared together, for one is slain by an enemy, but the other by a friend."

Serauje ad Dowlah, on his arrival near Patna, summoned the governor, Raja Jaunejee Ram, to deliver up the city and repair to his presence; assuring him of favour in case of his obedience. The raja was at a loss how to act, being fearful of surrendering his charge without orders from the navob, and alarmed, lest any accident should happen to Serauje ad Dowlah if he opposed him; but, at length, he resolved on defending the city, till he should hear from Mahabut Jung. The imprudent young man assaulted the town without delay; but Mhadee Nissar Khan, the principal adviser and leader of his rebellion, being killed early in the attack, his followers fled, and Serauje ad Dowlah with difficulty sheltered himself in a house in the suburbs. The raja, rejoiced that he had escaped unhurt, immediately sent some of his principal officers to attend him to a residence befitting his rank; and by the persuasions of his friends, he consented to return to his grandfather. Mahabut Jung was overjoyed at his escape, and hastened to meet him. Instead of reproaches, he received him with the greatest affection, and a joy bordering on weakness, as it made Serauje ad Dowlah exert the influence he now saw he had over him, to his discredit and dishonour. The navob, having spent a few days at Patna, returned with his grandson to Moorshudabad; but was seized on the road by an intermitting fever, which continued long upon him. On his recovery, he marched against the Mharattas, who yet infested the province of Cuttac, and, as usual, unable to bring them to a decisive engagement, spent the dry months in pursuing them from place to place. The

two following years were expended in the same desultory warfare, when at length both parties, being tired of war, began equally to wish for an accommodation of their disputes. Mahabut Jung yielded to the Mharattas the province of Cuttac, and agreed to pay annually twelve lacks of rupees, as the choute of Bengal.

The navob, by this peace, being freed from all his enemies, gradually discharged his superfluous troops, and employed himself in encouraging his people to rebuild the villages which had been destroyed, and cultivate the lands in many districts, long waste, from the desertion of the inhabitants during the repeated invasions. From this period we find nothing remarkable in his life, the remainder of his government being uninterrupted by vicissitude. As he had chosen Serauje ad Dowlah for his successor, he latterly entrusted him with a power, which was too often employed for the destruction of those, against whom he had any pique, or was jealous of their attachment. Houssein Koollee Khan and his brother, the favourites of his uncle Shawamut Jung, he assassinated, and put to death other persons of rank, without being punished by his grandfather; which acts of cruelty estranged from him the minds of the people, and prepared the way for his own future destruction.

A.D. 1755. In the year 1169 died Shawamut Jung, nephew to the navob, and son to Hajee Ahmud. He possessed many good qualities, and was much esteemed by the people for his clemency, and charities to the friendless and poor. His death was speedily followed by that of his brother Sowlut Jung, who had for many years governed the district of Poornea, with credit to himself and satisfaction to the inhabitants; his misfortune at Cuttac having corrected the warmth of his disposition, and taught him prudence and humanity

* The Mharattas still keep up this claim, but, since the death of Serauje ad Dowlah, it has not been paid.

nity. Both these princes are well spoken of by the natives of Bengal, and their memory respected. Shawamut Jung died without issue; and Sowlut Jung left only one son, who succeeded him in his government, under the title of Shokut Jung; but was shortly deposed and slain by his cousin Serauje ad Dowlah.

Mahabut Jung did not long survive the death of his nephews. In the eightieth year of his age, being seized with a dropsy, he submitted for some days to the advice of his physicians; but finding himself growing worse, and judging that at his time of life a recovery was not to be expected, refrained from medicine, and refused longer to follow any regimen. The expectations of his death caused great disputes among his relations. His eldest daughter, Gooseety Begum, widow of Shawamut Jung, retired with her treasures to * Mooteejeel, and distributed large sums among the followers of her late husband, in hopes that they would support her against her nephew Serauje ad Dowlah on her father's demise. Such policy was only the influence of her declining fortune. When Mahabut Jung was in his last agonies, some of his women desired he would recommend them to the care of his intended successor; but the navob knowing his bad qualities, observed, smiling to them, "that if he for three days should behave dutifully to his grandmother, then they might entertain hopes of his tenderness." Shortly after this, he departed to the divine mercy, on the ninth of Rejib, 1169, A.D. after a government of sixteen years over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He was buried the following night, near the tomb of his mother in the garden of Khoosh Baug.

X x 2

"Thou

* A country palace near Moorshudabad. The principal building stands in a piece of water called Mootee Jeel, or Pearl-lake. It was erected by Shawamut Jung, and is a stately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble, brought from the ruins of Gour or Lucnowty, the ancient capital of Bengal.

“Thou didst guide him, O Lord, for he was among thy servants. O forgive him his offences, for thou art most merciful.”

Mahabut Jung from his early youth was not addicted to idle pleasures, as wine, or * opiates, music, or the company of courtezans. He was regular in his devotions, and assiduously abstained from all things forbidden by the divine law. He generally rose two hours before day, and after ablution and prayer, drank coffee with his select companions. At day break he gave public audience, when the commanders of his army, the civil officers, and persons of all ranks who had any applications to make, were admitted without reserve to set forth their business, and received satisfaction from his bounty. At the expiration of two hours he retired to a private apartment, where such only as were invited came. These were generally his nephews Shawamut Jung and Sowlut Jung, his grandson Serauje ad Dowlah, and particular friends. Pieces of poetry were now recited, or history or anecdotes read to him; and sometimes he even amused himself with giving directions to his cooks, who prepared victuals before him according to his palate. The officers of different departments, if necessary, also came for orders. He then sat down to eat with his friends, and many shared the bounties of his table. When the meal was over the company retired to repose. At this time, a story-teller always attended to relate some amusing narrative. He generally rose about an hour after mid-day, performed his devotions, and read in the Koraun till near four. After saying the prayers for that time, and drinking a draught of water cooled with ice or saltpetre, he received several learned men, in whose company he daily spent an hour, hearing them discuss points of divinity and law for his information. When they retired, the officers of the revenue, with Juggutt Seet, his banker, were admitted, and gave him the intelligence

* Commonly used in India to intoxicate.

gence received from Dhely and every province of the empire, also of each district of his own government, when he issued his orders to them as affairs required. An hour passed in this manner, and sometimes his near relations were allowed to be present. By this time night set in, lights were brought, and with them certain jesters and buffoons, who entertained him with their repartees on each other for a short time. He then retired to prayers; after which he sat in privacy with his own Begum, to receive the visits of near female relations, till nine o'clock. The women then departed, and men were admitted who had business with him, till he retired to sleep, generally early, and without eating. In this manner he passed his time, having stated hours for every employment. He was unequalled in his benevolence to his relations, friends, and former acquaintance in his lower fortunes, particularly to those who had shewn him the smallest kindness when he was distressed at Dhely in his youth, sending for them or their children to his court, and conferring favours upon them beyond their expectation. The people at large during his life experienced such care and satisfaction from his gentle administration, as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent; while at the same time the lowest of his officers grew rich in his service. He was intelligent in all affairs, and encouraged the deserving of every profession. Affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general, he possessed also every noble quality. When the French general, Mr. Buffly, after the death of ^a Nafir Jung, wrote to him in pompous terms of his victory, and recommended the factory of ^b Chandernagore to his protection, he reflected upon the similarity of disposition between his intended successor, Serauje ad Dowlah, whose enmity to the English he was apprised of, and the unfortunate foubahdar of Dekkan;

^a Nafir Jung was Nizam of Dekkan. He was surprized and slain in a conspiracy of his nobles, assisted by the French, in the year 1755.

^b Belonging to the French in Bengal.

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Dekkan; at the same time saying, "He feared that after his death the Europeans would become masters of many parts of Hindoostan." Mustapha Khan, his principal general, had endeavoured to prevail upon him to expell the English from Calcutta, and seize their wealth; but receiving no answer to his advice, urged it again, through the navob's nephews, Sowlut Jung and Shawamut Jung. Mahabut Jung returned no answer, but shortly after said in private to the latter, "My child, Mustapha Khan is a soldier, and wishes us to be constantly in need of his service; but, how came you to join in his request? What have the English done against me, that I should use them ill? It is now difficult to extinguish fire on land; but * should the sea be in flames, who can put them out? Never listen to such advice as his, for the consequences would be fatal."

* An allusion to the fleet.

SERAUJE

SERAUJE AD DOWLAH.

SERAUJE ad Dowlah, after the customary mourning, having assumed the musnud of his grandfather without opposition, sent a party of his troops to remove Gooseety Begum, his aunt, from the palace of Mooteejeel to a place of security, and to confiscate her effects. Her adherents, who had received large sums from her to oppose his accession, deserted her immediately on the death of Mahabut Jung, except a few, who also were so alarmed when the palace was surrounded, as to be incapable of resistance. Meer Nuzzer Ali, who had been her chief adviser and confidant, having bribed the officers of the party to make his peace with the nabob, left the Begum, whose person was confined, and her treasures seized. Serauje ad Dowlah displaced many of the officers of government, and filled their places with young men, the companions of his pleasures. He treated the servants of the late nabob, mostly persons advanced in years, with such slight and disrespect, as gave them great offence, and estranged them from his interest. Not long after his accession, he marched towards Raujemahal, with a design to dispossess his cousin Shokut Jung of the province of Poornea; but was diverted from his purpose, by information that Kishen Boollub, son of Rauje-boollub, dewan of Shawamut Jung, had fled to Calcutta, and was protected by the English, Mr. Drake, the governor, having refused to deliver him up at the demand of the nabob's officers. Upon this he returned suddenly to the capital of Moorshudabad.

Serauje

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Serauje ad Dowlah, in whose brain the vapour of pride had arisen, and made him wander far from the path of caution and forbearance, having resolved on quarrelling with the English, was tortured with the fire of impatience. The companions and old servants of Mahabut Jung durst not breathe a remonstrance in his presence, and many, from the degradation they had undergone and the advancement of low persons, wished the overthrow of his power; so that no one gave him proper advice, nor did he ask it. Those who were his counsellors and favourites, were mostly rash, and weak of understanding, unacquainted with the rules of policy, and infatuated with their sudden promotion; or, regarding opposition to his will as destructive to their own interest, did not dare to contradict him. Serauje ad Dowlah was a weak man, void of useful qualities, and intoxicated with youth and prosperity. The probable consequences of any measure entered not into his mind; and the hearts of the men of understanding about him were inflamed with disgust at his unreasonable fury, or the dispute with the English might have been settled easily by negotiation. There was no cause for kindling the flames of war; but as providence had decreed the downfall of the family of Mahabut Jung, and other great calamities, the reins of government over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which form an extensive empire, fell into the hands of two weak and tyrannical youths, Serauje ad Dowlah and Shokut Jung, who in the end suffered for their crimes.

To proceed; Serauje ad Dowlah in the beginning of Ramzaun marched towards Calcutta; and the English, who had no force to oppose him in the field, retired into their factory to defend themselves. Their outposts were soon taken by the nabob, who had a great army; and Mr. Drake, the governor, being struck with a panic at the state of his affairs, saw safety only in flight. Without informing the whole of his countrymen of his

his intention, he fled to a ship with a few persons. The remainder, out of regard to their honour, fought while they had any ammunition, preferring death to disgraceful life, and drank the sherbet of dissolution with heroic valour. Some being overcome, fell prisoners into the hand of providence. An invaluable treasure in money and effects was plundered from the warehouses of the Company, the English, Hindoo, and Armenian merchants, by the soldiers and followers of the camp; but Serauje ad Dowlah acquired nothing from his conquest, but the seeds of his destruction. Having remained a few days at Calcutta, he returned to the capital, leaving the command of the place to Manneck Chund, dewan of the Raja of Burdwan, a weak and cowardly person, who had given proof of his treachery by deserting Mahabut Jung when he was surrounded by the Mharattas.

Soon after the conquest of Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah marched against his cousin Shokut Jung, the fojedaur of *Porneah, whom he reduced with little opposition, and acquired a great accession of treasure and territory by his victory. He returned triumphantly to his capital; but his fortune was now at the highest. It is the established custom of this world, that when any thing has reached the point of perfection, it begins to decay, and finally becomes annihilated; so as to leave not a trace for enquiry behind it. An instance of this truth, and the cause of Serauje ad Dowlah's ruin, may be seen in the following pages.

Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, having escaped on board a ship with some gentlemen, retired to Madrafs, and other Englishmen, employed in merchandise in various parts of Bengal, also found means to escape from the country. At this time, colonel Clive commanded the company's forces in the province.

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province of Arcot, which he had rescued from the hands of the French. It was agreed by the government of Madras, that he should repair with a force to Bengal, and endeavour to regain the factory of Calcutta, either by force, or payment of a sum of money. Being arrived with his troops in the river, he cast anchor; and as the chiefs of the English are very cautious, wise, and valiant, having sent proposals of accommodation to Serauje ad Dowlah, he entreated his forgiveness of Mr. Drake's faults, and offered some lacs of rupees, on condition of being allowed to occupy the factory as formerly. Serauje ad Dowlah was the most inconsiderate of men, and his ministers were weak, and ignorant of the valour and abilities of the English. The intelligent had no power of offering their advice, and the chief men of the country wished his ruin, wearied out with his oppressions. If any one did offer an opinion contrary to the nabob's, he and his foolish companions, intoxicated with conceit, treated it so disdainfully as to make him repent, and resolve on silence in future. No answer was returned, and at length colonel Clive, tired of delay, and having obtained information of the characters of the rulers of Bengal, resolved on war. He anchored his ships opposite the residence of Manneck Chund, and began to play his artillery, which causing confusion among the enemy, he landed his forces, and attacked them. Manneck Chund, unable to resist, fled with his army, and the colonel, having taken possession of the factory and town, exalted the standards of victory. Serauje ad Dowlah, upon intelligence of this, was awakened a little from his slumber of conceit, and prepared to march and punish the English.

Serauje ad Dowlah had spent two months and twenty two days in the enjoyment of pleasure, when at once, the measure

* The author makes no mention of Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive being considered by the natives as chief of the English.

November,
A. D. 1756

of his crimes being full, the signs of his downfall appeared. On Monday the twelfth of Rubby al Sani, 1170, he marched from his capital towards Calcutta, and having encamped in the vicinity of that city, some days passed in skirmishing with the enemy. The English opened a negotiation, with a view to find out the state of his army, having intentions of attempting a surprize by night. Under pretence of a message to Serauje ad Dowlah, they sent two persons of their own nation, possessed of the qualities of valour, quick perception, memory, and judgment, who having observed the situation of the navob's tents, might commit particulars to the treasury of their remembrance; and they well performed their commission. I forget whether it was the same night, or one or two after, that the English, being ready for the attack, embarked a body of their troops in boats, and proceeded cautiously up the river to the skirts of the camp, where they waited till about half an hour before day. Then, having entered in the rear of the line, they marched on firing without intermission, while those who remained in the boats did the same as they fell down the river. Great slaughter was made among the troops of the navob. Doste Mahummud Khan, a general of rank and merit, was wounded. It was reported, that the English intended if possible to carry off Serauje ad Dowlah prisoner; but at this time a thick fog covered the camp, which rendered it hard to distinguish persons close to each other, so that they missed the quarter of his tents, and marched another way, the navob by this accident escaping captivity. The English regained the town in safety. Serauje ad Dowlah and his cowardly army, from the alarm of this night, to them a symbol of the last day, lost the powers of their minds, which were overwhelmed with terror and affright. Judging it dangerous to remain longer so near the city, the navob summoned his father in law, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, and

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other chiefs, to consult on future proceedings; who, observing his terror, advised the removal of the camp to a greater distance, and to offer terms of accommodation, which counsel was immediately executed. The English, seeing the alarms of the nawab, now demanded a compensation for their effects plundered by his army when he took Calcutta; which, after much negotiation, was agreed to, and Serauje ad Dowlah gave up six districts in the vicinity of the factory, as a security till the sum settled should be paid up. A treaty having been ratified and all affairs settled, through the medium of Mr. Watts, Serauje ad Dowlah returned to Moorshudabad, and now reflected upon what in the days of his pride he had never considered. He trembled for his situation, and was irresolute how to regulate his conduct. Having become ashamed and repentant of some of his vices, he at length found out that there was a God. Doste Mahummud Khan had retired for the cure of his wounds to Sassaram; Meer Jaffier Khan, Raja Doolubram, and other old officers, he found disaffected to his person, and wished to extinguish the flames of their disloyalty, but knew not how to effect it. He had no resolution of his own, or might either have bound them to his interest by a renewal of favour and kindness, or have put them to death, and raised up ministers capable of conducting the affairs of his government. He had no advisers free from self-interest to persuade him to employ the experienced servants of Mahabut Jung in preference to themselves, or of sense to know that from his prosperity theirs would also be derived. From these reasons, he would at one time, when enraged with passion, order cannon to be planted against the house of Meer Jaffier Khan, or command Doolubram to obey his favourite, Moin Laal, or treat Juggutt Seet with contemptuous threats.

At this time, the English having taken the factory of Chandernagore from the French, Mr. Law, with a band of soldiers and some artillery, having escaped from the enemy, sought protection at Moorshudabad, and offered his services to Serauje ad Dowlah, who readily received him. Upon this the English, either at the instigation of the disaffected chiefs, or of their own accord, represented through their agent, that as there was a treaty subsisting between them and the navob, by the articles of which the friends or enemies of either party were to be considered as such by both, he acted contrary to it by receiving the French, with whom they were at war. The navob advised with Mr. Law how to act; who observed, that if indeed he assisted his nation against the English company in the field, it would be a breach of treaty; but that it could be none for him, who entertained thousands of every cast, if he kept a few Frenchmen also in his service. An answer similar to this was conveyed to the English, who, however, renewed their remonstrances at the instigation of the disaffected; and these persons under pretence of regard to his welfare, observed, that to quarrel with the English for the sake of a few distressed Frenchmen was unwise, and would occasion much confusion. At length, Serauje ad Dowlah commanded Mr. Law to retire to Patna. Mr. Law at taking leave told him, that most of his chiefs were disaffected to his person, and leagued with the English in intentions to depose him, which was the cause of advising his dismissal; that on his departure they would set him at variance with the English and destroy him, which they could not effect while he remained to assist him. Serauje ad Dowlah felt the truth of his observation, but was too timid to keep him at his capital. He promised to recall him when necessary; but Mr. Law said, "I know we shall never meet again." After his departure, the navob's disputes with Meer Jaffier, Doolubram, and other chiefs, arose to greater heights, insomuch that they

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they, with Juggutt Seet, being in fear of their lives, resolved, in order to save themselves, to effect his destruction. Gooseety Begum also, who hated Serauje ad Dowlah, and was irritated at his seizure of her treasures and estate, used every means to excite the resentment of her friends against him, and to procure their assistance for Meer Jaffier, whom she also supplied with large sums of money, which she had secreted by means of her eunuchs and female attendants.

Meer Mahummud Jaffier Khan and the other chiefs agreed, that the surest method of deposing Serauje ad Dowlah, would be to excite the English against him. With this view, Juggutt Seet employed his agent, Ameen Chund, a principal merchant of Calcutta, Doolubram some other person, and Jaffier Khan, Ameer Beg, who had some connection with the English, to whom he had been of service when their factory was taken. These persons represented the outrageous conduct of the navob to their principals, and the general desire of the provinces for his removal. They even produced a written request to the English, that they would march for this purpose, and, by a little trouble, deliver a world from tyranny and oppression, for which they should receive three corores of rupees, and other favours. The particulars of the navob's cruelties to Gooseety Begum and others, were also displayed, and the paper was attested under the seals of those persons who suffered injuries.

The English, who are unequalled in valour and sentiment, (and who is it that does not wish for conquest?) upon intelligence of these circumstances, determined on war with Serauje ad Dowlah; but as it is their custom, and indeed of every wise people, not to break with any one without a reason assigned, doubtless they gave one to him, of which I am not informed. It

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was, most probably, that of his delay in payment of money settled by treaty for the losses at the capture of Calcutta.

War being resolved on, colonel Clive, known here by the title of Sabut Jung, prepared to march; upon intelligence of which, Serauje ad Dowlah, overwhelmed with dread, tried, when too late, to reconcile his dependants, who pretended to be attached to his person, the better to cover their own designs. He dispatched Doolubram, with the greatest part of his army, to throw up intrenchments at Plassey; but he spent his time in secret negotiations with the English, and securing the troops in his own interest and that of Jaffier Ali Khan; who, renewing his attendance at the durbar, and apparently reconciled to Serauje ad Dowlah, found means, by promises and other methods, to draw over most of the officers about the nabob's person to his designs, so that very few remained loyal. Upon intelligence of colonel Clive's having begun his march from Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah reluctantly, his heart divided with hope and terror, moved from Munfoor Gunge to Plassey, where the English, at the utmost not exceeding three thousand men, natives and Europeans, shortly arrived. On Thursday, the fifth of Showaul, 1170, the flames of battle were lighted up. As A.D. Europeans, and the English in particular, are celebrated for the skilful management of artillery, colonel Clive began his attack with a cannonade, so unremitted and instantaneous, as confounded the fight of his opposers, and overcame their faculties of hearing. Meer Jaffier Khan and his associates in treachery beheld the enemy at a distance, safe from injury; but Meer Muddun and others, ready to sacrifice their lives or acquire victory, bravely opposed the enemy. They were, however, unable to charge from the violence of the cannonade, but kept resolutely, though slowly, advancing, till at length they gained the Grove of Plassey; and, it is said, that colonel Clive, not expecting

pecting such resistance, abused Ameen Chund and accused him of treachery, saying, "that he had represented the army of Serauje ad Dowlah as disaffected to his person, but now the contrary appeared from their valiant opposition." Ameen Chund replied, "that the present enemy was only Meer Muddun and a few chiefs, who were faithful to the navob; but when he was routed, the truth of his representations would appear." During this conversation, as revenge was decreed for the crimes of Serauje ad Dowlah, Meer Muddun, who was truly brave, and cherished the seeds of fidelity in his heart, received a mortal wound from a cannon ball. He was carried immediately to the navob, and having uttered a few words expressive of his loyalty, resigned his soul to the Creator of life. Serauje ad Dowlah by his loss was involved in despair. Having sent for Meer Jaffier, who refused for some time to obey the summons, the navob in abject terms besought his protection; and, I have heard, that taking the turban from his own head, he placed it at the feet of Jaffier, saying, "I now truly repent of my behaviour towards you, and offer your obligations to Mahabut Jung, my grandfather, and our relationship, as intercessions for your forgiveness. I now regard you as holding his place, and beseech for pardon to your slave, conjuring you to act as becomes your character as a descendant from the prophet, and your ancient obligations, in defending my life and reputation." Meer Jaffier Khan, judging this a fit opportunity to complete his treachery, advised, that as but little of the day was remaining, the troops should be recalled to their tents, and promised in the morning to repulse the enemy. Serauje ad Dowlah urged his fears of another night attack; but Jaffier assuring him he would guard against it, he sent orders to his dewan Moin Laal, who had accompanied Meer Muddun and was still engaging the enemy, to return to the camp. The dewan sent for answer, that the pre-

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sent was not a time for retreat, for, if he should retire, alarm would spread among the troops, who would probably fly in confusion. The navob a second time advised with Jaffier Khan, who insisted on the retreat of the dewan, or he would not act; upon which he repeated his orders, and Moin Laal reluctantly obeyed.

When a man's ill fortune prevails, he does that which he should not. The troops, as had been foreseen, construing the return to camp into defeat, began to fly in great numbers. Serauje ad Dowlah seeing this desertion, much alarmed by the enemy in front, but much more apprehensive of those about his person, at length left the camp, about half an hour before sunset, and arrived early the next morning at Munfoor Gunge. Here, though he besought his attendants to remain with him till he could prepare for escape, and fix on some proper place of refuge, he could not prevail, but was deserted by numbers. Even his wife's father, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, though the navob begged him to stay and collect troops, either to defend him where he was, or accompany him in his retreat, refused, and hastened to his own house at the city of Moorshudabad. As a last resource, the navob opened the doors of his treasury, and distributed large sums to the soldiers, who received his bounty and deserted with it to their homes. An immense sum was thus, to him unprofitably, expended. He was ungenerous when he should have been liberal, and oppressive to mankind, and now saw the consequences of his crimes, suffering in his own person for the calamities he had inflicted upon others. Having remained till night at Munfoor Gunge, and finding himself almost deserted by all, he took with him his jewels and some other valuables upon elephants, and with Lootfal Nissa Begum, and two or three favourite women in covered carriages, quitted his palace about three in the morning,

and hastened to Bogwaungolah, where he embarked upon the Ganges, with the design of seeking refuge in the fort of Patna. In this proceeding he was also imprudent; for, had he kept the land, and called the jemmautdars of the villages to his assistance, they would have escorted him in safety, in hopes of being rewarded, and he would have been joined by numbers of his troops, when recovered of their panic and hearing of his escape; but, alas! who can remedy the ills of fate? His reason for flying by water, was, the hope of meeting Mr. Law, to whom he had written pressing to hasten to his assistance, on the first intelligence of the march of the English, and to come down the river for the greater speed. Mr. Law received the letter, but, according to the usual delay in Hindoostan, before he could procure from Ramnarain the money ordered for his expenses, some time elapsed. He left Patna, but hearing of the defeat and death of Serauje ad Dowlah, on reaching Rajmahal, he retreated, and major Coote was afterwards sent in pursuit of him to the frontiers of the provinces.

When Meer Jaffier found that fortune had favoured his designs, by the retreat of Serauje ad Dowlah, he remained at Plaffey, and had an interview with colonel Clive, with whom and the English troops he the next day entered Moorshudabad, and issued proclamations of safety to the inhabitants in his own name. His partners in conspiracy, and those who, loving quiet, were attached to no party, hastened to present congratulations and offerings; and such as did not approve his conduct and were secretly attached to Serauje ad Dowlah, (they were but few) not chusing to be singular, through fear did the same. Having seated himself on the musnud of the provinces, he sounded high the trumpet of power and exultation, and employed himself in settling affairs and dividing the treasures of the palace, as had been agreed, between himself, Raja Doolubram,

ram, and the English. As he was ambitious of copying Mahabut Jung, he assumed the same titles on his seals, and conferred those of that navob's relations on his own. He dispatched his son in law Meer Caufim Khan in pursuit of Serauje ad Dowlah, and issued orders to Meer Daood, the commandant of Raujemahal, to be vigilant in preventing his escape from the province. The unfortunate fugitive, being arrived on the bank opposite to Raujemahal, and with his women pressed by hunger, after a fast of two days, disembarked at the cell of a devotee, named Dana Shaw, of whom he asked help in procuring victuals. To this man, in the days of power, he had offered some affront, the memory of which still dwelt upon his mind. The fakeer received him courteously, and provided food, but privately dispatched information of his important guest to Meer Daood, who, with Meer Caufim, hastened to the cell, and took him prisoner, with his women and effects. Serauje ad Dowlah now entreated for life of those men, who had lately trembled at his name, and suffered their reproaches. He begged to be allowed a moderate income and a retired dwelling. Meer Caufim Khan obtained by threats and promises a casket of jewels from the Begum to an immense amount, and each of the captors a valuable booty. The dewan Moin Laal had before this been seized at Moorshudabad, and his effects and life were taken by Doolubram. On Sunday, the fifteenth of Showaul, Serauje ad Dowlah arrived, a disgraced captive in the hands of his servants, at Moorshudabad. When the people beheld him in this situation, they forgot his vices, and recollected only the hardship of his present fortune, comparing it with the splendour they had seen him surrounded with from his infancy till now. It is said, that several jemmautdars, as he passed their quarters, were so penetrated with grief and anger as to prepare to rescue him, but were prevented by their superiors, who had expectations of reward from his rival; so that the virtue of the weak

of no effect. Meer Jaffier was at this time at Munfoor Gunge, but his son Meeraun at Moorshudabad. This young man surpassed his father in every evil quality, never hesitating to shed blood. He regarded readiness to punish as good policy, and mercy as folly. With such ideas he was fond of comparing himself to Mahabut Jung. He ordered Serauje ad Dowlah to be confined and put to death; but no person of rank would undertake the murder. At length, a wretch named Mahummuddy Beg, who from his infancy had been cherished by Mahabut Jung and Serauje ad Dowlah, from whose grandmother he had received a portion with his wife from charity, offered to execute the horrid deed. When the unfortunate navob saw him approach his person, he said, "Art thou come to kill me?" and, upon receiving a reply in the affirmative, began to pray; then suddenly exclaimed, "Will not they let me live somewhere in obscurity? No; no, it cannot be; I must be sacrificed for the murder of Houssein Koollee Khan." The assassin now inflicted several wounds, and the navob falling down, cried, "It is enough, my task is over, and revenge is finished." Having said thus, he resigned his soul to the Creator, and left this world of crimes by the sword of cruelty. His body was placed upon an elephant, and carried through the city, exposed to the populace. It is said, that the driver of the elephant, by accident stopping at the spot where Serauje ad Dowlah had assassinated Houssein Koollee Khan, some drops of blood fell from the body upon the same ground.

"Be warned by example, O ye men of understanding, and view well the revolutions of fortune. Place not your reliance upon the world's success, for it is uncertain and inconstant, like a publick singer, who goes daily from house to house. Give not thy affection to a damsel, who every day changes her
"gallant.

“ gallant. In the eye of the wife, fortune is as chaff, blown
“ about by every wind. Didst thou possess the treasures of the
“ world, what thou hast expended in benevolence will alone
“ profit thee.”

When the corpse of the navob approached the residence of his afflicted mother, guessing the disaster from the clamour of the populace, she burst from her apartments, and ran into the street, beating her breast, but was forced back with blows, by order of Khadim Houssain Khan, who sat upon the terrace of his house to view the exposure of the body of his lord's son. Jaffier Khan was asleep when the unfortunate prisoner had arrived, and did not wake till after the murder, when being informed of his coming, he sent to his son, commanding him to be careful of his person. Meeraun, on receiving the order, laughed, and said, “ I am not so weak as to be neglectful in such affairs;” and to his companions he vauntingly exclaimed, “ My father just now sent, but I had before completed the affair, for am I not, my friends, son to the sister of Mahabut Jung? How then could I be careless upon such an occasion?”

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MEER JAFFIER KHAN.

MEER Jaffier having thus become navob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shortly after his accession prepared to march towards Patna, having some doubts of the submission of Ramnarain, the deputy governor of that city; and also to quell some disorders which had broken out in the district of Poorneah from the rebellion of some principal dependants of the late sojedaur, Shokut Jung. In the month of Suffir, of the year 1171, he moved to his camp, leaving his son Meeraun in the direction of affairs at Moorshudabad. Here, having some suspicions of Meerza Mhadee, brother of Serauje ad Dowlah, he commanded him to be put to death. Some report, that he was dispatched by poison, and others, that he was pressed to death between two boards used to tighten bales of shawls. The cause of this action was the disaffection of Raja Doolubram, who now repented of having espoused the cause of Meer Jaffier, and was privately conspiring to rescue Meerza Mhadee from confinement and declare him soubahdar, not having been rewarded for his late treachery, as he expected.

Upon Meer Jaffier's arrival at Raujemahal, having appointed Khadim Houssain Khan sojedaur of Poorneah, he dismissed him to restore order in that district, which was effected with little opposition, the rebels being deserted by their adherents at the sight of his army. Ramnarain, upon the approach of the navob towards

towards Patna, unwilling to trust his promises of safety for his person and continuance in employment; endeavoured to obtain the support of the English; for which purpose he dispatched his agent Geeda Mul to procure assurances of protection from colonel Clive, before he would agree to visit the navob. Geeda Mul represented to the navob, that his master was fearful of visiting him without the security of the English; to which Meer Jaffier readily agreed. The vaqueel having gained over the secretary, prepared a paper, and brought it for the approbation of the navob, who being at that time somewhat intoxicated, would not read himself, but ordered his secretary to tell him the contents, which he did in a slight manner, and varying from the spirit. The navob being satisfied, sent the paper to colonel Clive, requesting that he would copy and ratify it with his seal, which he did, and kept the draft. The contents of the paper were in these words: "You may come with safety and satisfaction of mind. The security of your person, honour, fortune, and continuance in employ, without settling your accounts, rests upon me." Geeda Mul hastened upon the wings of speed to Ramnarain, who repaired without hesitation to the navob's camp; where, however, he visited first colonel Clive, who sent an officer of rank to introduce him to Meer Jaffier. The navob was offended at his disrespect in not coming first to him, and commanded him to remain in the camp, which he did, till the arrival of the army at the city of Patna.

Meer Jaffier upon his arrival at Patna was visited by all the respectable inhabitants, to pay their allegiance upon his accession to the soubahdary, and among them were many, who having formerly lived with him on terms of intimate equality, hoped to share the advantages of his exaltation, but were mostly disappointed, by a cool reception. Among these was Meerza Shumse ad Dien, who, in the days of his distress, had assisted him with
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a sum of money, and now hoped to have it repaid, and to enjoy the favour of the navob; who, however, assumed towards him a distant behaviour, fearful, as the Meerza was a man of wit, and free of speech, that he might assume too much upon their former intimacy. One day it happened, notwithstanding, that Shumse ad Dien being admitted to his presence, was going to speak, when the navob, expecting a reproach, said, "I have not forgotten your former kindness, which I mean to repay; but at present the expenses of the English army and other contingencies are so great, it is not in my power. When God shall give me ability and opportunity, I will not be unmindful of your obligations." The Meerza, pretending feelings of compassion, said with a sobbing accent, "No more, my Lord, I am struck with your sufferings; but, alas! Serauje ad Dowlah plundered my house, or I should now have esteemed contributing to your relief as an honour." Meer Jaffier was womanishly fond of jewels, of which he always wore great numbers in his higher fortunes. On this day, his neck, arms, wrists, and turban were more richly ornamented than usual, and the Meerza wittily said, "To be sure, these few stones about your person are not of any great value to any one; but I should think a blow from one of your highness's hands as an honour and satisfaction." Again, some enemy of the Meerza's informed the navob, that his attendants had picked a quarrel with those of colonel Clive, who was much offended; and the Meerza coming in soon after, Meer Jaffier reproved him, saying, "Know you not the rank of the colonel, that your people should dare to insult any of his friends?" The Meerza, putting on a look of submission, exclaimed, "My patron, how dare I even look the colonel in the face with steadiness, who every morning of my life make three obeisances to his *afs." Meer Jaffier was silent, and pretended not to understand the meaning.

After

* Alluding to Meer Jaffier's being supported by the colonel.

After some days spent in ceremony and entertainments, Meer Jaffier, who intended conferring the government of Patna upon his brother Cauzim Khan, demanded from Ramnarain an account of his disbursements, and the balance of revenue due to government; but the wily Hindoo, who had, expecting this demand, secured the protection of the English, complained to colonel Clive, who represented it to the navob as a breach of faith. The navob replied, that he saw no reason why he should resign the province to Ramnarain, and injure his own brother, for the promise of the colonel. Clive observed, that he had before told his highness of the disagreement which the interference of the English would occasion; but as, notwithstanding, he had importunately entreated him to write a letter of protection under his own seal, he must therefore now abide by the contents, for he could not suffer a breach of his promise. Meer Jaffier denied having sent him instructions to write what he had done; but the colonel, producing his own draft, he was silent on the subject to him, but abused his secretary and Ramnarain's vaqueel for imposing upon him, who, however, insisted that they had written literally, according to his instructions, which he had forgotten in the multiplicity of business. He was obliged to confirm Ramnarain in his employment, as the colonel insisted on his observing the engagement. This affair being settled, the navob made a pilgrimage to the tomb of a celebrated fakeer; and afterwards convened a numerous assembly of devotees, for whom he made an entertainment on the bank of the Ganges, at Patna; where he also celebrated the Hindoo feast of Hooly with much festivity and splendour. He then began his return to Moorshudabad, hunting on his march with a select party of his attendants at a distance from the main body of his army. He was accompanied as he moved by troops of musicians and singers upon elephants, who entertained him with their harmony. Amid such luxuries he re-

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gulated the country as he passed; and at length reached the palace of Mahabut Jung at Moorshudabad, where, plunging more and more into profusion and voluptuousness, he became regardless of all public affairs. Meeraun, his son, puffed up with vanity, copied the manners of the dissipated of Dhely, about four thousand of whom he had taken into his pay as soldiers. Giving himself up to women and debauchery, with equal avidity as his father, though more excusable, being in the height of youth, there was no one to attend to the business of government. The troops at length became so distressed through want of pay, that they pined with hunger, and turned their horses loose upon the plains, for want of grain to feed them. Except the few thousand guards of Meeraun, his women, and favourite attendants, with those of the navob his father, no one was regularly paid; and the controul of these extensive provinces was left to the direction of three spies, Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing. By their influence the renters were protected in embezzling the revenues, so that shortly there was not money sufficient carried to the treasury to bear the expenses of the navob and his son.

When only one year and three months of this wretched government had elapsed, the troops were driven to despair, and the knife had now reached the bone; till, at length, Abd al Hadee Khan and other chiefs conspired to remove Jaffier Khan from the musnud by assassination, when he should attend the assembly of mourning in the month of Mohirrim; but many persons being in the plot, some one betrayed it to the navob on the second evening of the meeting, and he came no more into public. Enquiry was made into the particulars of the treason, and many turned informers to save their lives. Abd al Hadee

* In commemoration of the deaths of the Imaums, grandsons of Mahumud.

Hadee Khan, finding himself discovered, fortified himself in his own house, till, at length, obtaining leave to quit the provinces, he embarked with his family from Moorshudabad; but was afterwards seized and put to death, on his way up the Ganges, by a band of Afghauns, commissioned by the navob for that purpose. Meer Casium Khan, another of the conspirators, was also assassinated. The widow of Mahabut Jung, his daughter Gooseety Begum and Ameen Begum, also Lootf al Nissa, the widow of Serauje ad Dowlah, and her infant daughter, being suspected of encouraging the plot, were sent into confinement at Dacca. About three months after this, rumours were spread of the prince Ali Goher's intention to enter Bengal. This intelligence alarming the navob and his son, they, for their own safety, paid up part of the arrears due to the troops, and promised more attention and regularity in future.

Ramnarain, the deputy governor of Patna, was a man of much cunning and intrigue, void of any real regard to Meer Jaffier Khan and his family, but, from the connection he had formed with the English, he dared not openly act contrary to treaty, though secretly he wished his destruction, and was on the watch for opportunity to effect it. Rajas Sunder Sing and Pulwau Sing, two principal zemindars, out of gratitude to the protection of Mahabut Jung, hated Meer Jaffier, as the destroyer of his family, and meditated rebellion. The greatest number of the principal people of the provinces, disgusted with the bad qualities and tyranny of the late navob, had been pleased at his deposal, judging, that as Meer Jaffier was advanced in years, and had long served Mahabut Jung, he would follow his example; but upon his accession to power, experiencing his behaviour, and more particularly the cruel actions of his son Meeraun, a monster of his time, they now regretted the fall of Serauje ad Dowlah, and the old saying of "Bless our former ruler," was

revived on the tongues of the wise and the simple. Meer Jaffer, who, when paymaster to Mahabut Jung, was celebrated among the troops for his profuse liberality, upon ascending the musnud, became as much decried for his avarice. It is said, that a person asking him the cause of this change in his behaviour, he replied, that in Mahabut Jung's time the public treasure was another's; but now it was his own, his heart felt uneasy to part with it.*

In this situation of affairs, the prince Ali Goher, eldest son of the reigning emperor, having made his escape from the hands of his father's minister, who wished to keep him in confinement, sought protection with Mahummud Koollee Khan, the soubahdar of Aleabad. This nobleman was a young man of courage, but of little conduct. Ambitious of enlarging the limits of his government, he was easily tempted, by reports of disorders in Bahar and Bengal, to attempt their conquest under the royal sanction; for which purpose he offered his services to the fugitive prince, who readily accepted them. Mahummud Koollee was also supported in his hopes by assurances of aid from Shujah ad Dowlah, his cousin, and soubahdar of Oude; who, however, was not sincere in his promises, and only promoted the expedition in order to remove his relation from the fort of Aleabad, which he wished to seize for himself. Mahummud Koollee Khan had also received invitations to invade Bahar from Sunder Sing, Pulwaun Sing, and other disaffected zemindars. The former was truly attached to the family of Mahabut Jung, and burned with ardour to revenge the ruin of his family. He possessed true honour, courage, and many other good qualities; so that, had fate permitted him, he might have attained his object; but his life was too short.

Under

* In his pleasures, however, he was ridiculously profuse, and lavished sums upon them, which, paid to his troops, would have secured his power.

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Under pretence of regulating his districts, and visiting Raja Ramnarain, he left his fortress of Teekaurry, formed an encampment, and began to levy troops. While making preparations, a favourite officer desired the advance of a thousand rupees; which demand, as the like had often been repeated, caused the raja to say in a jesting manner to his attendants, "Gholaum Ghose inherits much bravery from his father, but this meanness of borrowing is from his mother, and darkens his better qualities." Gholaum Ghose, hearing of this observation, was much enraged, and resolved to murder his patron. He came and asked for a thousand rupees; upon which the raja told him, "Such importunity was not decent," and begged he would desist; but the other impudently declared he should not rise till he had given him the sum. The raja, upon this, attempting to rise, he seized his garment, crying, "Sit down till you give me the money." Sunder Sing exclaimed, "Are you mad?" when the traitor stabbed him mortally with a dagger; then rushing on the attendants, he wounded several, and forced his way through them. Mounting his horse, he fled from the camp, but was overtaken by Soorut Sing, a relation of the deceased, who called out, "It is cowardly to fly, return and fight me." He stopped, and dismounting from his horse, a bloody conflict took place. At length, the traitor's sword being broken, he rushed upon his antagonist and threw him to the ground. At this time some villagers appearing, Soorut Sing cried out, "Why stand you? behold here the murderer of your prince!" Upon this, they ran upon him and put him to death with clubs and swords. Thus was Sunder Sing prevented in his career of joining the prince.

In the year 1172, Mahummud Koollee Khan, under the A.D. royal standard of Ali Gohir, who had procured from his father the emperor grants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, began his march

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march towards Patna. When Raja Ramnarain heard of his having approached beyond Banaras, he was much alarmed, neither the nayob nor the English army having yet moved from Moorshudabad. The dignity of the royal name, and the terror of the Mogul arms, filled his mind with dread, and made him act with caution. He pitched his camp at a little distance from the city, resolving to join either the prince or the nayob, whoever should first arrive in his vicinity. Hearing that the royal army had crossed the Carumnassa, and that Meer Jaffier had not yet left the capital, he thought it wisest to treat with the former; but first asked the advice of Mr. Amyatt, the chief of the English factory at Patna, observing, that “without the arrival of the nayob’s army, he was unable to cope with the enemy.” Mr. Amyatt replied, that “as to himself, if assistance arrived, he would remain at Patna; but if not, on the near approach of the enemy, he would retire some days’ journey to the eastward towards Bengal, and wait the orders of council or contingency of events; that as for Ramnarain, he should try to amuse the enemy as long as he could, till orders or help arrived from the nayob; but in case he was hard pushed, to proceed as he should find most for his own advantage.”

The Raja, having received the advice he wished for, began to amuse both parties. He wrote to Meeraun and colonel Clive, that he was prepared to resist the enemy, but could not brave them alone, therefore hoped they would hasten to his relief; and at the same time he sent emissaries to secure the favour of the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. “I was at this time at Patna, with my mother and family, but in much dread, as Meer Jaffier and Meeraun having heard that my father, Huddaiut Ali Khan, was with the prince, had written to Ramnarain to observe my motions, as they believed that I and my relations

* Gholaum Houssain, the native writer of these events.

relations were the excitors of his expedition. But the truth is, I had not the least acquaintance with the enemy, nor correspondence with my father, who had long resided at Dhely, where, like the rest of the nobles, he spent his time in dissipation, and had married a Cashmirian woman; having no concern at all with us or my mother for near sixteen years, during which he enjoyed offices of great emolument. We also, from the kindness of our relations Mahabut Jung and his nephews, passed our time in ease and affluence, nor wanted his notice; so that, except a letter of ceremony now and then, there was no other communication between us.

Ramnarain was well informed of these particulars, and on the receipt of the navob's letter assured me of his protection from his jealousy. Upon the approach of the prince nearer Patna, Mr. Amyatt with the rest of the English embarked in their boats, and retired twenty or thirty cofs towards Bengal, leaving their factory under the protection of Ramnarain; who by this step was confirmed in his resolution to visit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. He was, however, advised against it by Raja Moorlydher, chief of the spies, who judged Meer Jaffier would in the end prevail from the assistance of the English; and he thought justly: but Ramnarain was deeply impressed by the awe of royalty, and the slowness of the navob and the English. When resolved upon his conduct, he sent for me privately, and asked me to go and secure him the prince's favour through the mediation of my father. I complied, and set out for the camp. On the road I met several spies, who confirmed the news of the prince's approach. Arriving at Aroul, I saw Muddar ad Dowlah, who was going on the part of the prince, and Meerza Mahummud Ali on that of Mahummud Koollee Khan, as agents, to Ramnarain, mounted on elephants,

* A town a few days' march from Patna.

elephants, with one hundred horse. I was astonished, that any other should be sent on this business than my father, who was intimately acquainted with the province and its principal inhabitants. When I had travelled a little farther, I heard that my brother Nukkee Ali Khan had joined my father, who had summoned him by letter. This gave me much concern, as there was no cause for his thus subjecting himself to the resentment of the nabob of Bengal. About sunset I reached the prince's camp, had an interview with my father, and soon discovered, that, from his haughtiness of disposition, he had not courted the attention of Mahummud Koollee Khan, like Muddar ad Dowlah and others, under whose influence the prince acted, as upon him indeed he depended for subsistence. I asked him, "Why, he had joined the prince, since it could answer no purpose but vexation of heart, and the loss of our jag-hires in Bahar, which we had obtained at the expense of so much time and trouble." He gave me an angry reply; but I perceived that he felt the truth of my observations. However, it came indeed rather too late, and his situation was pitiable; for whenever the prince, who was hasty and inconsiderate, acted contrary to the wishes of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he considered his conduct as originating from the advice of my father. In short, Muddar ad Dowlah, being arrived at Patna, persuaded Ramnarain by threats and promises to visit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan; who, on their parts, agreed that he should be continued in the soubahdary. Hearing of this, one day before that appointed for the interview, I represented to my father, "that Ramnarain was very artful and circumspect; that under awe of the prince's name and the Mogul arms, he had been led to submission; but, upon seeing the true state of the camp, would repent of his timidity, and if allowed to return to the city, would never come back." My father angrily replied, "that the family of Timur never

" dealt

“dealt with treachery to any one.” I answered, “that I did not hint that treachery should be used, but only that the prince and his army should enter Patna with the raja, when he must of necessity become their friend, and upon intelligence of the fall of the city, the navob’s army would advance less rapidly.” He answered, “that Mahummud Koollee Khan had the power.” I advised him to inform him; but he said, “that, as he never consulted him, there was no cause for his intruding his advice.” This enraged me, and I told him, “he had given our family to the winds.” He became more angry, and I was silent.

The day following, I went with my father to the royal tents. The arrival of the raja, and his being long in private with Mahummud Koollee Khan, was announced. Losing all patience, I mentioned what I had observed to my father, to Moneer ad Dowlah and others; but in vain. At length, Mahummud Koollee entered the royal presence, and, having made his obeisance, took his place as vizier on the left of his highness. He instantly began to praise the raja, saying, “He was a wise Hindoo, and spoke the Persian with great readiness; in short, that he was so much pleased with his abilities, that he had appointed him his own dewan, and given him the deputation of Aleabad.” The prince naturally asked him, “How he could place such confidence in a person at first sight?” when Muddar ad Dowlah and others, who had been gratified by the raja with a few thousands of rupees, immediately uttered forth his praises for wisdom, fidelity, and all good qualities, offering to be his pledges. In a little time the raja arrived, and being obliged to use all the ceremonies of royal audience, which he had never till now been accustomed to, he came up to the throne with a terrified aspect and parched lips, to present his offering, which I forget whether the prince or Muddar ad Dow-

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lah took from him. He was then invested with a khelaut; but, as he had himself till now been only a bestower of them, he was much wearied with the numerous obeisances, necessary at receiving every separate part of the dress. When this was over, having stood and recollected himself a little, I saw him observing the wretched appearance of the prince, and the strange manners of his attendants, with contempt, shame at his having come to an interview, and impatience to return. He was soon dismissed, and went with Mahummud Koollee Khan to his tents, who permitted him to leave the camp; and the raja, immediately upon his arrival at Patna, issued orders to shut the gates, and man the walls of the city. For some days, he continued to amuse the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan with trifling presents and messages, in order to prevent hostilities till the arrival of the navob's army; and such was the weakness of the enemy, that they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by his excuses. At length, Mahummud Koollee Khan wished to move his camp to the eastward of the city, through which was the common road; but Ramnarain representing to him that some disorders might arise on the march, from the irregularity of the Mogul troops, he consented to go another way; though this denial of a passage made it clear to all, but himself, that the raja was deceiving him till the approach of the navob's army. He encamped for some days near the gardens of Jaffier Khan, and the raja kept up the farce of loyalty, by pretending to prepare a statement of the revenues of the province and the balance in the treasury; till, at length, intelligence of the march of Meeraun and colonel Clive from Moorshudabad arriving, and the enemy becoming more urgent in their demands, he drove the messengers of Mahummud Koollee Khan from the city, by the importunate advice of Moorlydher, who was apprehensive of the navob's suspecting his loyalty; otherwise,

Ramnarain

Ramnarain would have amused them without hostilities, till the arrival of the Bengal army.

It is a just observation, "that the weak man acts the same
 "as the wife, only not till after disgrace;" and so it was
 with Mahummud Koollee Khan. On receiving the raja's mes-
 sage, which was, "that he considered himself as a servant of
 "the navob of Bengal, and had only visited him as a guest of
 "his master's, but did not understand his demand of the pro-
 "vince," he flew into a violent rage, vowing that he would
 bring him by force to the prince the next day. Accordingly,
 in the morning he began to cannonade, and the siege was car-
 ried on for some days with great briskness. In all probability,
 Patna would have fallen into his hands, had not the operations
 been interrupted by intelligence, which caused him to raise the
 siege and retreat. This was, that Shujah ad Dowlah, who had
 obtained his permission to shelter his women in the fort of Ale-
 abad, on pretence of marching to join him, had treacherously
 seized that place, and possessed himself of the province. Ma-
 hummud Koollee retired from Patna, and the prince, unable to
 act with his own small army, reluctantly accompanied him. On
 his arrival at Phoolwawree, only four miles from the city, he
 was met by Mr. Law; who had hastened with his small band
 of Frenchmen from Chutterpore, (where he had resided since
 the fall of Serauje ad Dowlah) to offer his services. Mr. Law
 remonstrated with him, but in vain, on the folly of a retreat
 when he was so near success. He marched onwards, and Mr.
 Law went to visit the prince, and offer his assistance. The
 prince unhesitatingly informed him, "that he depended on
 "Mahummud Koollee Khan even for his daily expenses, and
 "without him could not continue the siege; therefore must re-
 "tire to Chutterpore, in hopes of support from the raja of
 "that country." Mr. Law offered to accompany him, and
 B b b 2 marched

marched on in front. Being at Saffaram when he arrived there, I paid him a visit; when he complained loudly of the folly of the nobles of Hindoostan, who, he said, were cowardly, giving up their empire to ruin; that he had travelled from the coast of Bengal to Dhely, and been witness of nothing but oppression of the poor and plundering of travellers. "Though I," said he, "have used every argument to excite such powerful nobles as *Shujah ad Dowlah and ^bUmmaud al Moolk to regulate the empire, and attempt the recovery of Bengal from the English; they would not attend to me, nor understand their real interests."

Soon after Mr. Law had passed, the prince, and with him my father, arrived; who complained heavily of the behaviour of Mahummud Koollee Khan and his highness, asking my advice how he should proceed. I observed, "That as he could not return to Dhely, from the enmity of Ummaud al Moolk, and the prince was unable to support him, there was but one resource left, which was, to join Pulwaun Sing, who had great interest with Ramnarain, and could procure the restitution of our jaghires, forfeited by joining the prince, should Pulwaun Sing submit." This he agreed to; and accordingly went to his camp, where the raja gladly received him. Pulwaun Sing, who was rich and powerful, offered, if the prince and Mr. Law would remain with him, to hazard an engagement with the English and Meeraun; but they would not consent, fearful that, as he was a zemindar, he might treacherously deliver them up to the enemy to make his own peace. It was then agreed, that the prince should, to save appearances, write a letter to colonel Clive, demanding a sum of money as the price

* Navob of Oude.

^b Prime minister of the empire.

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price of his retreat; which he commanded me to compose, and it was sent by Nobut Khan to the colonel.

When Shujah ad Dowlah heard of the retreat of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he treacherously commanded Beny Bahadur, his deputy, and Bulwaun Sing of Banaras, to intercept his march, and take him prisoner. They accordingly encamped their forces near ^aRamnuggur, on the high road, and sent word to the prince and Mr. Law, that they did not mean to molest them, but would oppose the progress of Mahummud Koollee Khan; upon which the former separated from him, and continued their route to Chutterpore. Mahummud Koollee, against the remonstrances of his friends, consented to disband his army, and throw himself on the protection of Shujah ad Dowlah; who immediately on his arrival, kept him a prisoner, and shortly after put him to death.

Meer Jaffier Khan, upon hearing of the visit of Ramnarain to the prince, was much alarmed, and entreated the assistance of colonel Clive, who agreed to march with his son Meeraun to the relief of Patna; but it was not the intention of the English, who at this time were unacquainted with the low state of the empire, to oppose, if it was possible to avoid it, the emperor's son, for whose dignity they had much respect; and it is certain, had he and Mahummud Koollee Khan acted prudently, a treaty might have been concluded to their honour and advantage; but their weak conduct ruined their affairs. Meeraun upon his march halted at Raujemahal, intending to allure Khadim Houffsein Khan, fojedaur of Poorneah, to an interview, at which he had resolved to assassinate him, being jealous of his power, and fearful of his joining the prince. This design, however, being reported abroad, the fojedaur, who was a prudent man, marched from Poorneah up the banks of the Ganges, giving out that he

^a The palace of the raja of Banaras.

he meant to join the young nabob; but upon his arrival at Currangola, nearly opposite Rajmahal, he halted, and sent an agent to colonel Clive, representing his fears of Meeraun's treachery, and begging his protection. The colonel accordingly dissuaded Meeraun from his design; and having met the fojedaur in a boat on the middle of the Ganges, assured him of safety. Khadim Houssein Khan, however, not chusing to visit Meeraun, the colonel obtained for him the nabob's permission, much against his inclination, to return to Poorneah, Clive being security for his fidelity to the nabob, and the nabob's sincerity to the fojedaur. Meeraun then proceeded towards Patna with the colonel; but before their arrival the enemy had retreated. Near the city they were visited by Ramnarain, who artfully excused his interview with Mahummud Koollee Khan, and became more favoured than before. Though he had importunately entreated me to be his agent with the prince, and I had complied with his request against my own inclinations, he now abused me to the nabob as a traitor, saying, "It was a strange world, that I should be so deceitful as to desert his service, and join my father;" though he himself was indeed the traitor, for his resolution was to join the enemy, till he saw their weakness. With such arts he preserved his own reputation; but it is surprizing how he could persuade the English that he was their friend, after having visited the enemy. The fact is, he was immensely rich; and, in these days, money can do wonders, even give vice the appearance of virtue. After some days stay at Patna, Meeraun and the English marched against Pulwaun Sing, who fled to the hilly country for security; at the same time sending offers of submission, which were accepted. Ramnarain persuaded the young nabob to return to Patna; which he willingly did, being fatigued with the campaign, leaving Ramnarain and the colonel to adjust affairs with the zemindar. Pulwaun Sing honourably insisted on the pardon of my father and the continuance of his jaghires, before

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before he would accept his own, which was granted. God be praised, that what I had foreseen, came to pass. The English approved much the letter I had written to them for the prince, and, being moved with compassion, colonel Clive sent him a sum of money. All affairs being concluded with Pulwaun Sing, Ramnarain and the English returned to Patna.

Meeraun being now anxious to return to Moorshudabad, prepared for his departure; but first wished to drive from his service Affaulut Khan and some other officers, of whose attachment he and his father had entertained some suspicions, but had concealed their jealousies on account of the prince's invasion, lest they should have joined him. Meer Jaffier had instructed his son to leave them behind him without their information, lest rage might provoke them to attempt his person; but the truth is, they had no designs inimical to the father or the son. They had ever been attached to Meer Jaffier, and on that account were displaced from the service of government by Serauje ad Dowlah, and suffered great hardships, remaining without employment for twelve months. When I was, by the accident already related, obliged to join the prince's army, I wrote a letter to Dilleer Khan, with whom I had^a exchanged turbans, inviting him to embrace the prince's service, and requesting him to escort my family to the camp. He wrote me in answer, that his own head should be security for my honour; but that as for deserting Meer Jaffier, he never would, though he should be forsaken by all.

Meeraun, agreeably to the instructions of his father, till the arrival of Ramnarain pretended much friendship for Dilleer Khan, but afterwards forbade him his presence, and departed suddenly in boats towards the capital, leaving him and his followers under

^a By exchange of turbans, persons adopt each other as brothers.

der long arrears of pay. Finding he could obtain no satisfaction from Ramnarain, who pleaded that he had no orders to advance him money, Dilleer Khan, with his friends and followers, went to Teekaury, and offered their services to Futteh Sing and Booniaud Sing, relations of the late Sunder Sing, who entertained them. Not long afterwards, Dilleer Khan joined Kaumgar Khan, the zemindar of Terhoot, in a petition to the prince, that he would march again towards Patna, and his highness readily embraced their offers of assistance. Dilleer Khan would have prevailed on me to join them, but I refused, and repaired to Patna. Ramnarain would have denied me a residence, at the instigation of Moorlydher and others; but Mr. Fullerton, surgeon to the English factory, by permission of Mr. Amyatt, the chief, gave me apartments at his own house, I being intimately acquainted with those gentlemen. Upon intelligence of the prince's approach, Ramnarain encamped with his forces at some distance from the city, and was joined by captain Cochran, with some English foldiers, sepoy, and some pieces of artillery.

The prince had crossed the Carumnassa, and just entered the province of Bahar, when he received intelligence of the murder of his father Aulumgeer 2d; upon which he dispatched an express to my father, then at Housseinabad, commanding him to his presence, and asking his advice on this event. My father, in reply, recommended him to assume immediately the imperial authority, to send the inkstand of the vizarut to Shujah ad Dowlah, soubahdar of Oude, and the khelaut of ameer al amra to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, a powerful Afghaun chief; also to dispatch Munneer ad Dowlah on an embassy to Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, to request his assistance, and commands to the Afghaun chiefs of Hindoostan to acknowledge him as emperor. The prince, accord-

* The vizier is invested in office by a present of an inkstand and canopy from the emperor.

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accordingly, ascended the throne, by the title of Shaw Aulum, and acted according to my father's advice. He was now joined by Kaumgar Khan with five thousand horse, Dilleer Khan, and Affaulut Khan, with their followers, when he proceeded to engage Ramnarain, who was defeated, and with difficulty gained the city. Captain Cochran and Mr. Barwell were killed, with some soldiers and sepoys; but the remainder of the English, having spiked one of their cannon, retreated in good order to Patna. Raja Moorlydher and Omar Khan, a principal chief, were taken prisoners. The emperor and Kamgaur Khan did not pursue the enemy, having suffered much in the action, and lost the two gallant chiefs Dilleer Khan and Affaulut Khan. Had the royal army followed the fugitives, it is most probable, Patna would have fallen without resistance. For some days the city was in the utmost confusion; but at length, no enemy appearing, the spirits of the inhabitants revived.

The emperor next marched to attack Meeraun, who was advancing from Moorshudabad; but the royal army was defeated by the gallantry of the English. In this action Meeraun was wounded. Shaw Aulum, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, now hastened by forced marches through the hills, in hopes of surprising Meer Jaffier in his capital; but the navob having timely intelligence from his son Meeraun, was prepared; upon which the royal army retreated, and marched by another route towards Patna, hoping, as Meeraun had moved towards Moorshudabad to the assistance of his father, that the city would fall an easy prey before he could return to relieve it. Unfortunately for them, they halted a few days at Bahar, which gave time to Ramnarain to prepare for defence; for the greater part of his troops were with Meeraun, and only a few sepoys in the English factory. Upon intelligence of the approach of the enemy, as many troops as were in the neighbouring districts were called

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in, and Mr. Amyatt encreased his force to about three companies of sepoys, from the several stations. At length the enemy commenced the siege, and a few nights after, Mr. Law and his Frenchmen attempted an escalade, but were defeated by the vigilance and activity of the English and Raja Shittabroy. They repeated their attempt a second evening in a different quarter, with the same ill success; but the spirits of the garrison began to fall, especially of Ramnarain and his followers, when they were revived by the arrival of an English detachment under captain Knox, who had marched from Burdwan in thirteen days, and reached the bank of the river opposite the city the morning after the last assault. The following evening, the English made a sally upon the besiegers, who were easily defeated. Kaumgar Khan now retired towards Gyah Maunpore with the emperor, and raised contributions upon the neighbouring districts, for his support.

Shaw Aulum repeatedly summoned my father to his presence, but he, unwilling to offend the navob of Bengal, evaded coming; till at length, Kaumgar Khan, to oblige him, detached Sheoput Mharatta to plunder his jaghire; he was then forced to comply, being without help, and prepared for his departure to the royal camp. Upon this, Ramnarain endeavoured to excite the resentment of the English against me; observing, that my father, notwithstanding the restoration of his jaghire, was leagued with the enemy and I with him, at the same time that I enjoyed the English protection. Mr. Amyatt spoke to me on the subject, and desired I would write to persuade my father from joining the emperor. I told him, “that
 “my writing would be of no effect, while my father was exposed to the ravages of the enemy; but that, if he should
 “be allowed to come and reside in the city, he would willingly avoid going to the emperor; that as for myself, I had
 “not

“not the least correspondence with the enemy, since my ar-
 “rival at Patna.” Mr. Amyatt saw the justice of my re-
 marks, and assured me of his protection; but desired I would
 write, which I did, declaring as before, that my father must
 of necessity obey the emperor, while he and his family were in
 the open country exposed to his displeasure. It so happened,
 he repaired to the royal camp against his inclination, and was
 honoured with the first place in his majesty’s confidence.

The enemy continued in the country of Kaumgar Khan and
 Teekaury, waiting the success of the embassy to Ahmed Shaw
 Abdallee. At this period, Khadim Houssein Khan, being fear-
 ful of the treachery of Meeraun, resolved to join the emperor;
 and having seized all the money he could from the inhabitants,
 marched from Poorneah with five or six thousand horse, about
 seven thousand infantry, and upwards of forty pieces of artil-
 lery, towards Patna, and soon arrived near Hajeeapore, on the
 bank of the river opposite the city. Had he done this before
 the arrival of captain Knox, Patna would certainly have fallen
 into the hands of the emperor, and Khadim Houssein Khan
 would have acquired great honour. Ramnarain, upon intelli-
 gence of his approach, consulted with Mr. Amyatt; who ob-
 served, that as the emperor was at a distance from the city,
 the raja should detach the greater part of the forces with cap-
 tain Knox, who had undertaken to cross the river and engage
 with Khadim Houssein Khan. Ramnarain was astonished he
 should think of attempting it with so small a force; but Mr.
 Amyatt pressing him, he promised to prepare his troops to join
 the English. Mr. Amyatt also desired the assistance of Raja
 Shittabroy, who with great willingness joined captain Knox with
 his followers, about two hundred horse and foot. The English
 detachment consisted of three or four companies of sepoys, one
 of Europeans, and two field pieces of artillery. The troops of
 C c c 2 Ramnarain,

Ramnarain, according to the usage of the present times, delayed their march to settle arrears of pay and other affairs, so that not one man of them joined the captain; but on the contrary, Hummeed ad Dien, a principal jemmautdaur, endeavoured to persuade Shittabroy to return, by representing the folly of attacking such a force as Khadim Houssein Khan's with a handful of men, and insinuating that Ramnarain wished his destruction, and would be glad of the defeat of his own troops, to whom he owed considerable arrears; but that he and other officers had resolved not to risk their lives and fortunes by joining the rash, infatuated English. Shittabroy, however, was not to be diverted from his attachment, and accompanied captain Knox across the river to meet the enemy, who, contrary to the expectation of Ramnarain and the inhabitants of the city, were defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of great part of their baggage and artillery. Upon this Khadim Houssein Khan retreated towards the district of Butteah, and captain Knox, unable to pursue him, lest the absence of his detachment should leave Patna exposed to the emperor's army, recrossed the river a few days after the battle. Shittabroy, by his gallantry and fidelity, deservedly acquired the confidence of the English, who rewarded him with great liberality.

Not long after this event, Meeraun, who had marched from Moorshudabad upon intelligence of the defection of Khadim Houssein Khan, arrived near Patna with his own army and the English forces under the command of colonel Callaud. Without entering the city, they crossed the river in pursuit of the rebels; who, having already been defeated by so few of the English, strove now only to effect his retreat from the provinces. He kept up a sort of running fight for several days with the nabob, till his progress was stopped by the hills and the river Ghunduc; so that he must inevitably have fallen into the

the hands of Meeraun, had not an unforeseen event saved him from destruction.

* As it was now the commencement of the rainy season, and the decree of divine vengeance hung over Meeraun, about the third hour of the night of Wednesday the eighteenth of Zee-kaud, 1173, a heavy storm began. The world was dark and A.D. 1173. gloomy to Meeraun and his associates, and the splendour of the day of his life and prosperity changed to the black night of destruction. About a third part of the night was elapsed, when his companions, with his attendants, were dismissed. Meeraun, to guard against the violence of the storm, quitting his large tent, retired to a smaller one, called, from the inventor of it, a Dulleel Khaunee, low, and without walls, secured by strong pegs fixed in the ground very close. A favourite courtesan, with whom he generally slept, also two or three other singing girls, a story-teller, and a domestic to pat his limbs, were with him. As the life of the women was yet to remain, after a short time he dismissed them; when the domestic began to pat his feet, and the story-teller his charm, to the sleep of death. God knows, whether he was sleeping, or his eye wakeful in expectation of the messenger of fate, when, in the height of a most heavy shower, the threatening thunder of avenging anger roared, and the lightning of wrath descended on the head of Meeraun; who reached the place of final vengeance in the posture in which he lay upon his bed. The same flash falling on the domestic and the story-teller, killed them also. Some

* This is the true account of Meeraun's death; which Mr. Burke, deceived by false reports, in the opening of his charges against Mr. Hastings, attributed to the treachery of the English government.

† This patting of the limbs is common in the East, to promote circulation of the blood.

HISTORY OF BENGAL.

Some time after the accident, when the fury of the storm had abated, the attendants whose turn it was to watch, coming in, saw them in the sleep of death, and immediately, without noise or clamour, informed some of the principal officers, whose tents were nearest. Upon examination, five or six small holes were found on the back part of his head, and, on his body, streaks like the marks of a whip. His scymetar, which lay near his head on the bed, had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tentpole appeared as if rotted.

Meeraun was of a bloody and unrelenting disposition. With him, the slightest jealousy was sufficient to bring death on its object. By his instigation, Khaujeh Hadee Khan and Meer Cauzim Khan were assassinated on suspicion of disloyalty. He killed several women of his haram with his own hand, and would boast of the act, saying, "this was the true mode of clearing up doubts, and easing the mind of jealousies." With this savage ferocity, he procured the death of Ameenah Begum and Gooseety Begum, the daughters of Mahabut Jung, whom he caused to be drowned; and among his papers was found a list of many persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign, determined, as he said, to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends. But the Almighty, who is protector of the universe, would not permit such barbarity. When he beholds a people immersed in wickedness, he commits the guidance of power over them to a tyrant, that he may punish their offences: but he lets not that tyrant remain for ever over his servants. The government of the oppressive has no permanency, for the scripture truly says, "Dominion may continue even with infidelity, but cannot with cruelty. If, indeed, after necessary severity, the cruel become just, he may establish their power; or else, remedy-
ing

of his son in law Meer Caufim Khan, to whom he had a great averfion, and fent him to negotiate fome bufinefs at Calcutta; where, during his agency, he impreffed the minds of the council of his fuperiority of ability for government over Meer Jaffier or his fon; and, indeed, he was eminently diftinguifhed among his coteemporaries and family for penetration and conduct. Having finifhed his embaffy, he returned to the navob, who, pleafed at his fuccefs, fhewed him more kindnefs than formerly, and he became of much influence at court.

At this time the troops, being greatly in arrears, furrounded the palace in a mutinous manner, demanding payment; and Meer Caufim had the addrefs to quell them, by offering himfelf as fecurity for the redrefs of their grievances. Soon after this it became neceffary for him to repair again to Calcutta. Meer Jaffier was unwilling at firft to permit him; but fate would not allow him to prevent him.

Mr. Vanfittart was by this time arrived. To him Meer Caufim related the neglect of the navob in the affairs of his government, the difordered ftate of the revenues and army, and the expenfes of the houfehold, owing to the influence of a few mean people without ability, as Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing Halkarrah, over every department. Mr. Vanfittart, who was unequalled among the Englifh for his judgment and abilities in ftate affairs, perceived that Meer Caufim Khan was among all the relations and fervants of the navob moft diftinguifhed in underftanding, and he wifhed to form fome plan for the regulation of the declining provinces. It occurred to him, that Meer Caufim Khan fhould be entrusted with the adminiftration of the government, as the deputy of his father in law the navob, to whom he fhould regularly pay a fum adequate to the proper fupport of his dignity. He laid his plan before

before the council for their advice and approbation, and the majority assented to its execution; but Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Batson, and major Carnac, disapproved the measure. Though the inability of Meer Jaffier was not so problematical as not to be perceived by them, especially Mr. Amyatt; yet, as he wished his own party to prevail over Mr. Vansittart, he opposed his plans, according to the maxim, “^a It is impossible to love Alee, and not hate Maweeah.” The two parties accused each other, in their letters to Europe, of every mismanagement; and their mutual enmity caused the ruin of numbers, as I shall hereafter relate. The governor’s party being the strongest, his measures took place. Meer Caufim was congratulated on his success, and returned to Moorshudabad; where it was agreed that Mr. Vansittart should repair to execute his plan. This he did very speedily, accompanied by Mr. Hastings and some other gentlemen, with a detachment of the army.

Upon the governor’s arrival at Moradbaug, a garden house opposite the city, on the bank of the river Baugruttee, Meer Jaffier the next morning came to visit him, and was informed of the plan agreed upon by the council, which he strenuously refused to accede to, though Mr. Vansittart used every argument to convince him that no hurt was intended to his dignity, but that he only meant, by appointing Meer Caufim his deputy, to ease him of a load of cares, which his infirm state of health rendered him incapable of bearing, and to rescue his honour and safety from the dangers they sustained by the ill behaviour of ignorant and self-interested ministers. After some time, the navob took leave, and returned to his palace. On the way back, he met Meer Caufim, who was coming to Moradbaug,

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^a The family of Alee, son in law of Mahummud, was destroyed by the caliph Maweeah, who is held in abhorrence by the sect of the former on that account.

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and commanded him to return; but he pretended not to hear, and proceeded.

When Meer Caufim heard what had passed, from the governor, he expressed his fears that the navob's having been informed of his plan, without being obliged to its execution, would prove hazardous to his safety. Mr. Vansittart expressed uncertainty how to act; upon which Meer Caufim was still more alarmed, saying, "If you are at a loss, what must I be, who am without any other support?" It being now dinner time, the governor retired to table, and Meer Caufim to a separate apartment. Here he consulted with Ali Ibrahim Khan, who advised him to wait patiently for another conversation with the governor, and to see how he would act: that if he gave up the plan, he could retire with his permission into Beerboom and join the emperor, who would gladly receive him. Meer Caufim resolved on this step, as a last resource to secure himself from the jealousy of the navob, should the English give up their design, and with much policy, for he would have been joined by many persons of rank, and the troops, for whose arrears he had stood security, were attached to him; which would have enabled him to have assumed independance. Dinner being concluded, Mr. Vansittart renewed the conversation, and it was at length determined, that Meer Jaffier should be forced to accede to his measures; for which purpose he would accompany Meer Caufim to the palace the next morning.

In the morning, Mr. Vansittart, attended by the English detachment, went to the palace, and was met by Meer Caufim and his friends. Repeated assurances were sent to the navob, that no injury was intended to his person or dignity. Mr. Vansittart endeavoured to persuade him that the appointment of

a deputy
* A woody district in Bengal.

a deputy in so near a relation, would reinstate his affairs from the confusion in which they were involved by the mismanagement and rapacity of his present favourites, but in vain. Some time passed in sending and receiving messages, when the English, finding that the navob would not consent to their request, desired Meer Caufim to assume the musnud in his own name, which he did without opposition; the friends of Meer Jaffier, who remained in the haram, having mostly deserted him, through fear of the English. Meer Jaffier had the offer of residing at the capital, or Calcutta. He chose the latter, and embarked in boats with his family, carrying with him unmolested the treasures in the haram, the jewels and valuable effects, which had accumulated to an inestimable amount, during the governments of the four last navobs of Bengal. At Calcutta he built a palace for his residence, and had a monthly allowance adequate to his dignity.

A. H. II,
A. D. I/

D d d 2

MEER

MEER CAUSIM KHAN.

MEER Causim Khan, on his accession to the musnud, finding the treasury low, was distressed to pay off the arrears due to the troops, for which he had given security, and the debts of the English; on which account he hastened to reform the revenues of the several districts. He gave Burdwan in mortgage to the English, and pledged to them some of his jewels. After mustering the army, and detecting the impositions of several officers, he satisfied the troops, by paying them partly in money, and partly by orders on the collections. He settled the disbursements of his household, so as not to exceed his revenue, and reformed several useless departments, hitherto kept up for shew. He obliged Cheeny Laal and Munny Laal to refund considerable sums, which they had embezzled under the late government. Meer Causim, being well acquainted with the circumstances of the relations and dependants of the three late nabobs, now exacted money from all whom he knew to be rich, and even obliged several courtezans to refund sums and valuable effects which they had received from Meer Jaffier and his son Meeraun; nor did he spare the women and eunuchs of Mahabut Jung, who had retired from the court and its affairs. In short, the advice of Saadee the poet, "Why collectest thou not from every subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?" He had attentively listened to, and now strictly followed, Raja Suknut Sing, who had held great offices under Mahabut Jung, voluntarily delivered

livered up all his wealth to Meer Caufim, who gave him up a part, and ever treated him with particular regard and attention, allowing him to fit close to his Musnud in public. Having thus collected a great treasure, he satisfied the army, and disbanded such of the troops as he could not trust, levying others in their room; after which he prepared to reduce the power of the refractory zemindars. In fact, this description of men are in general faithless, and ready upon the smallest commotion to forget the indulgence of their governors; on which account former emperors never relied upon them, but always managed the pergunnahs by their own officers. On this account, in their days, the provinces were flourishing, and men of all ranks satisfied and secure; but since the zemindars have been left uncontrouled in the government of their districts, confusion has prevailed, and the country is decaying. Meer Caufim having marched from Moorshudabad against Affud Zummaun Khan, raja of Beerboom, who had refused to pay an additional demand of revenue, easily defeated him with the assistance of the English.

It is now necessary, for the sake of regularity, that I should return to the affairs of Patna and the occurrences in that province, since the death of Meeraun.

At the conclusion of the rains, major Carnac with the English army, accompanied by Ramnarain, Raujeboollub, and the forces of Meeraun, marched to Gyah Maunpore against the emperor and Kaumgar Khan, who were defeated, and Mr. Law was taken prisoner. Major Carnac after the victory sent Raja Shittabroy with proposals of peace, and an offer to visit the emperor, who at first declined them, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, but on the remonstrances of my father, he sent again for the raja, and consented to an interview with the English. Upon this, Kaumgar Khan retired to his own country. Shaw Aulum
having

having moved nearer the English camp, appointed the next day to receive the major; who came agreeably to his promise, and after the customary ceremonies, conducted his majesty to Gyah, from whence, in a few days, he attended the imperial standard to Patna.

Meer Caufim, upon intelligence of this event, hastened from Beerboom to Patna, much alarmed at the connection of the English with the emperor, especially as major Carnac was of Mr. Amyatt's party, which had opposed Mr. Vansittart in his accession to the soubahdary. He refused to visit his Majesty in his camp, either from fear of treachery, or pride, but, after much negotiation, consented to pay his respects to him at the English factory; which was accordingly adorned for the occasion, and a throne placed upon the dining tables, which were covered with a rich musnud. Shaw Aulum came to the factory on the day appointed, and Meer Caufim being introduced, made the customary offerings, and was presented with a khelaut and other marks of favour, when he agreed to pay the emperor * twenty four lacs of rupees annually from the revenues of the three provinces. After the interview, the emperor took up his residence in the citadel, and the navob returned to his own camp; but being jealous of my father's attendance on his majesty, he prevailed on the English to procure the royal order for his return to his jaghire, which they did, though against their inclinations, to quiet his suspicions.

Shāw Aulum, after some stay at Patna, having received invitations from his vizier Shujah ad Dowlah and other chiefs, marched from that city to join him, greatly to the satisfaction of the navob, who feared that the attachment of the English to himself might be weakened by their regard for the royal cause.

Meer

* Two hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Meer Caufim had long wished to demand of Ramnarain an account of the disbursements and receipts of his government, which had never been given in, since the death of Serauje ad Dowlah; and the navob, who was intimately acquainted with business, well knew that the deputy had converted great sums to his own use. The protection afforded Ramnarain by the English, alone prevented him from proceeding to extremities; and the raja, depending upon their support, paid no attention to the just demands of the navob. Mr. Macguire, the chief of Patna, was of Mr. Vanfittart's party, and supported Meer Caufim; but major Carnac and Mr. Hay opposed his demands upon the raja. In this state of affairs, the navob, knowing my intimacy with Mr. Amyatt, sent me to Calcutta, that I might endeavour to make that gentleman his friend, and to consent to Ramnarain's being left at his discretion. Soon after this, colonel Coote was appointed to the army at Patna, and Ramnarain, thinking it his interest to excite jealousies in the minds of the English against the navob, bribed the colonel's spies to convey him false intelligence, which he too eagerly believed. These men carried their impositions so far, as to assure the colonel that Meer Caufim had fixed a day for attacking him by surprise; upon which the colonel, early on the morning mentioned, went with some armed men to the navob's camp; but finding no signs of preparation, and the navob asleep, he was vexed at his credulity, and returned without seeing Meer Caufim; to whom he excused himself by a message, that he had come with intention to visit him, but hearing he was asleep, would not disturb his repose. The navob complained to the council of this behaviour, which he attributed to its just cause, the intrigues of Ramnarain, of which they were now convinced. Colonel Coote was recalled, and orders sent to the gentlemen at Patna, that they should not interfere between the navob and his deputy.

This

This event rendering my farther stay at Calcutta needless, I returned to Patna; and indeed it was in vain that I endeavoured to draw Mr. Amyatt over to friendship for the navob. He one day said to me, " You well know, that I have no regard for Ramnarain, but, on the contrary, dislike him; yet, as I have from the beginning taken an opposite party to the governor, and our disputes are referred to England, I cannot befriend Meer Causim without contradicting my own assertions. If a decision shall arrive in favour of the governor's party, he will not seek my help; but if my opinions are approved, and the government committed to my charge, should the navob offer me his friendship, I shall have no objection to return it." Upon this, I wrote freely to Meer Causim the determinations of Mr. Amyatt and his friends.

The navob, upon permission from the council, demanded Ramnarain to give in his accounts, which he did. In them the raja had put down large sums paid to jaghiredars; but the navob required the receipts of the persons said to have received them, as vouchers for the payment; also muster rolls of the troops, and the books of the several payoffices of each corps, as proof of the exactness of the disbursements; for which purpose he ordered the servants of the raja in each department to attend with their papers. Ramnarain, conscious of his mismanagement and embezzlements of the collections, was alarmed, and at a loss how to act, being no longer supported in his contumacy by the English. Some of his friends advised him to resist the navob by force; but, as he was void of personal courage, he saw no remedy but submission, having first prevailed on some of the heads of offices to fly with their accounts, in hopes by that means to confuse the navob's auditors, and cover his own defalcation. Meer Causim, upon this, put a guard over his house, to prevent his escape, and having detected

tested embezzlements of large sums from the revenues, the jaghires, and pay of the troops, confiscated his effects. About ^aseven lacs of rupees in money and goods were found in his house, and nearly the same sum was recovered from persons to whom it had been entrusted by himself and his women. The effects of Gongabishen, his treasurer, and Munfaram his banker, were also seized, under pretence of having concealed his treasures. A large sum was also collected from Moorlydher and the cutwal of the city, who had been partners in guilt with the raja; nor was a single person of his dependants exempt from fines or confiscation; so that the navob acquired a great treasure.

Meer Caufim having settled these affairs to his satisfaction, entered the fort of Patna with much pomp, as a proof to the inhabitants of his possessing full authority in his government, which in fact he did not, till the submission of Ramnarain. He kept him in confinement in the city, but sent Moorlydher prisoner to Dacca, and Ameer Roy, the royroyan, with several other persons, to Moorshudabad. Having obtained from the emperor the dewanny of the province, the government of Rhotas Ghur, and the jaghires of ^bEatimaud ad Dowlah, which had been under the direction of Raja Shittabroy, he demanded of him an account of his conduct; but he refused to submit, and with some faithful followers resolved to defend his house against the troops of the navob; but the English, who owed great obligations to Shittabroy for his assistance in the battle with Khadim Houffein Khan, prevailed with Meer Caufim to submit his claims upon him to the decision of the council, which he did, depending on the governor's support of his cause. Shittabroy accordingly accompanied major Carnac to Calcutta; but

^a Seventy thousand pounds.

^b Vizier to Mahummud Shaw.

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as, on enquiry, no fault could be proved upon him, the governor and council granted him an escort to conduct him in safety out of the provinces subject to Meer Causim, into the territories of the navob of Oude, where he chose to retire.

Meer Causim, since his accession, had paid great attention to the forming his army, which he greatly strengthened by the addition of a regular artillery and several battalions of sepoys, clothed and disciplined like the English; also a body of regular cavalry. These were commanded by Gregory, an Armenian, who was distinguished by the title of Goorgeen Khan, and was the chief confidant and adviser of the navob. With this force he resolved to reduce the power of the Bahar zemindars, who had hitherto been too independant on government. He commanded them all to attend his person. Kaumgar Khan, dreading punishment for his support of the emperor, sheltered himself in the mountainous parts of his country, and refused to obey the summons. Boonniaud Sing and Futteh Sing of Teekaury, relying on their fidelity during the last invasion of Shaw Aulum for protection, came in, but were immediately ordered into confinement. Pulwaun Sing and other zemindars of Bhojepore refused submission; upon which the navob prepared to march in person against them, and detached a considerable force under his nephew Abou Ali Khan to reduce Kaumgar Khan.

Upon the approach of the navob, the zemindars of Bhojepore evacuated their districts, and fled across the Ganges into the dominions of Shujah ad Dowlah; and Meer Causim, having appointed confidential officers for the protection of the country, encamped for some time at Saffaram, after which he returned to Patna, and from thence to Monghyr, which fortress he had ordered to be repaired, intending to make it his principal residence. During his stay at Saffaram, several persons
were

were put to death, and others confined on suspicion of treachery, which occasioned the English to remonstrate upon his cruelty; but as, by the articles of the treaty with him, they could not interfere in the government of the provinces, he little regarded it, thinking it sufficient to inform them, that he had reasons for his conduct.

As it is incumbent on the recorder of events and actions of men to speak the truth, I shall now mention some of his good deeds, as I have already done the evil. Though Meer Causim from experience was very suspicious of the fidelity of the troops of Bengal, and the attachment of the great to their patrons, and therefore, for slight offences, punished with confiscation and death; yet, in judicial proceedings, in criminal and civil affairs, and disputes between man and man, in regular payment of his army and household, in attention to the learned, in a liberal œconomy and well-judged bounty to all, he was the mirror of his age. Two days in the week, after the usage of former times, he held a court of justice; at which he revised the sentences of the inferior courts, and examined himself the plaintiff and defendant, with their witnesses; so that it was not possible for any officer of justice to change wrong into right for a bribe. He also protected the owners of small villages and farms from the rapacity of the great zemindars, who in the time of Ramnarain in Bahar had usurped the rights of the poorer landholders. He coined the costly decorations of the ^a Imaum Bareh, prepared by Sérauje ad Dowlah at the expenses of some lacs, into money, and distributed it to the poor and pilgrims to the holy sepulchres, with an additional sum from his own purse. His neglect of the claims of his dependants I never heard one person complain of; but it is cer-

E e e 2

tain

^a The place in which the celebration of the annual mourning for the Imaums, or family of Alee, is celebrated.

PART XIII—contd.**INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT—contd.****Telegraph Traffic.**

Name.	Rank.	Station.
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Officer in charge, Telegraph Office.

1. P. L. Hurtis	Superintendent in-charge, Govt. Telegraph Office.	Ajmer.
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Postmasters.

1. Mr. A. D. Gonsalves	Postmaster	Ajmer.
2. „ P. C. Banerjee, B.A. . . .	Postmaster	Jodhpur.

Engineering Branch, Telegraph Department.

1. Mr. S. P. Patel, B.E., B.Sc., Hons.(London), A.C.G.I.	Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs	Ajmer.
2. „ V. L. N. Murty	Sub-Divisional Officer, Tele graphs.	Do.

PART XIV **Survey of India.**

Name.	Rank	Station
Captain D R Crono, R E	Officer in Charge, No 1 Party Survey of India	
Field Headquarters (Winter seasons)	Survey of India, Camp Offices .	Dehra Dun U P
Recess Headquarters (Summer seasons).	Survey of India	Mussoorie, U. P

No 1 Party of the Survey of India conducts topographical and other surveys in British territory and in arrangement with States in the territories of the latter

PART XV.

Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States.

Name.	Designation.	State.	Agency or Residency.
Lt.-Col. Sir H. Beauchamp, St. John, K.C.I.E., C.I.E.	Prime Minister, Jaipur State .	Jaipur .	Jaipur Residency.
Mr. P. L. Bowers, C.I.E., M.C.	State Engineer, P. W. D. .	"	"
" C. J. Parker	State Architect, P. W. D. .	"	"
Lt.-Col. C. O. B. Daunt.	Commandant, Jaipur Lancers .	"	"
Sergeant-Major W. Wells.	Instructor, Sawai Man Guards .	"	"
Miss A. F. Manelaws .	Operation Theatre Nursing Sister, Mayo Hospital.	"	"
Mr. James D. Addison	Electrical and Mechanical Engineer.	"	"
" G. A. Carroll .	Superintendent, Khetri Thikana .	"	"
Major C. J. Phillips .	Director of Music	"	"
Mr. F. A. Naughton .	Assistant Mechanical Engineer-in-Charge, Quarries, Cotton Press Ginning Factory, Engineer-in-Charge, Water Works.	"	"
" L. M. Baines .	Irrigation Engineer	"	"
" W. Owens, B.A., M.B.E.	Director of Education . .	"	"
Lt.-Col. B. L. Cole .	Superintendent, Court of Wards .	"	"
Capt. A. W. T. Webb, I.A. (Retd.).	Senior Officer, Thikana Sikar .	"	"
Mr. E. O. Maxwell .	Supdt., Traffic, Jaipur State Railway.	"	"
" A. E. Henderson .	Supdt., Loco. and Carriage, Jaipur State Railway.	"	"
Mrs. L. R. Barnes .	Nurse to the Palace Nursery .	"	"
Miss G. Jenkins .	Under Nurse to the Palace Nursery	"	"
Mr. K. Leech .	Superintendent, Kennol . .	"	"
" E. G. Ross .	Chauffour to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.	"	"
Sergeant J. J. F. McGaun.	Instructor, Sawai Man Guards .	"	"
Lt.-Col. R. P. T. French M.C.	Commandant, 1st Jaipur Infantry	"	"
Flight Lt. L. S. Hill .	State Pilot	"	"
Mr. R. M. A. Lakin .	Ground Engineer, Aviation Department.	"	"
Miss D. Martin .	Under Nurse to the Palace Nursery	"	"
Miss H. O'Neill .	Matron, Zenana Hospital . .	"	"
Major G. S. Jarman .	Guardian to Kanwar Hardayal Singh of Sikar (Jaipur State.)	"	"

PART XV—*contd*Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States—*contd.*

Name	Designation	State	Agency or Residency
Lt Col. Sir Donald Moyle Field Kt, C.I.E.	Chief Minister and Finance Minister	Jodhpur	Western Rajputana States Residency
Brigadier R C Duncan MVO OBE	Military Adviser and Military Secretary to H H the Maharaja of Jodhpur	"	"
Mr C Gregory Jones MC AMICE	Executive Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
O W H Roberts	Assistant Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" J C LeJeune	Ditto ditto	"	"
" G T Simpson	Deputy Traffic Manager Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" H G D Mellow	Assistant Controller of Stores	"	"
" C H Wilson	Electrical Engineer	"	"
Mrs Lucy Tarleton	Lady Doctor-in-charge, Jaswant Female Hospital	"	"
Mr J W Gordon CBE	Manager, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" H G Rawlins	Secretary to Manager and Controller of Stores Jodhpur Railway	"	"
Major G F Evans OBE	Chief Traffic Manager	"	"
Mr E E V Temperley MC, AM I.C.E.	Chief Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" E M Dady	Senior Assistant Auditor Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" E W Hayward, FRCS	Principal, Medical Officer, Marwar	"	"
Captain W H Pyman	Director of Munir	"	"
Mr D A Phillips	Assistant Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" S J Stephens	Assistant Engineer	"	"
Major F Steel OBE BA (Oxon.)	Assistant to the Finance Minister & State Auditor, Govt of Jodhpur	"	"
Mr A P Cox, MA	Director of Education	"	"
" H Cohen	Superintendent, Gars, Jodhpur	"	"

PART XV.

Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States.

Name.	Designation.	State.	Agency or Residency.
Lt.-Col. Sir H. Beauchamp, St. John, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.	Prime Minister, Jaipur State	Jaipur	Jaipur Residency.
Mr. P. L. Bowers, C.I.E., M.C.	State Engineer, P. W. D.	"	"
" C. J. Parker	State Architect, P. W. D.	"	"
Lt.-Col. C. O. B. Daunt.	Commandant, Jaipur Lancers	"	"
Sergeant-Major W. Wells.	Instructor, Sawai Man Guards	"	"
Miss A. F. Manelaws	Operation Theatre Nursing Sister, Mayo Hospital.	"	"
Mr. James D. Addison	Electrical and Mechanical Engineer.	"	"
" G. A. Carroll	Superintendent, Khetri Thikana	"	"
Major C. J. Phillips	Director of Music	"	"
Mr. F. A. Naughton	Assistant Mechanical Engineer-in-Charge, Quarries, Cotton Press Ginning Factory, Engineer-in-Charge, Water Works.	"	"
" L. M. Baines	Irrigation Engineer	"	"
" W. Owens, B.A., M.B.E.	Director of Education	"	"
Lt.-Col. B. L. Cole	Superintendent, Court of Wards	"	"
Capt. A. W. T. Webb, I.A. (Retd.).	Senior Officer, Thikana Sikar	"	"
Mr. E. O. Maxwell	Supdt., Traffic, Jaipur State Railway.	"	"
" A. E. Henderson	Supdt., Loco. and Carriage, Jaipur State Railway.	"	"
Mrs. L. R. Barnes	Nurse to the Palace Nursery	"	"
Miss G. Jenkin	Under Nurse to the Palace Nursery	"	"
Mr. K. Leech	Superintendent, Kennel	"	"
" E. G. Ross	Chauffeur to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.	"	"
Sergeant J. J. F. McGaun.	Instructor, Sawai Man Guards	"	"
Lt.-Col. R. P. T. French M.C.	Commandant, 1st Jaipur Infantry	"	"
Flight Lt. L. S. Hill	State Pilot	"	"
Mr. R. M. A. Lakin	Ground Engineer, Aviation Department.	"	"
Miss D. Martin	Under Nurse to the Palace Nursery	"	"
Miss H. O'Neill	Matron, Zenana Hospital	"	"
Major G. S. Jarman	Guardian to Kanwar Hardayal Singh of Sikar (Jaipur State.)	"	"

PART XV—*contd*Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States—*contd.*

Name	Designation	State	Agency or Residency
Lt Col Sir Donald Moyle Field, Kt, C I E	Chief Minister and Finance Minister	Jodhpur	Western Rajputana States Residency
Brigadier R C Duncan, M V O, O B E	Military Adviser and Military Secretary to H H the Maharaja of Jodhpur	"	"
Mr C Gregory Jones, M C, A M I C E	Executive Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
O W H Roberts	Assistant Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" J C LeJeune	Ditto ditto	"	"
" G T Simpson	Deputy Traffic Manager Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" H G D Mellow	Assistant Controller of Stores	"	"
" C H Wilson	Electrical Engineer	"	"
Mrs Lucy Tarleton	Lady Doctor in charge, Jaswant Female Hospital	"	"
Mr J W Gordon C B E	Manager, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" H G Rawlins	Secretary to Manager and Controller of Stores, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
Major G F Evans, O B E	Chief Traffic Manager	"	"
Mr E E V Temperley M C, A M I C E, F R C S	Chief Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" E M Dady	Senior Assistant Auditor, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" E W Hayward, F R C S	Principal, Medical Officer, Marwar	"	"
Captain W H Ryman	Director of Music	"	"
Mr D A Phillips	Assistant Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	"	"
" S J Stephens	Assistant Engineer	"	"
Major F Steel O B E B A (Oxon)	Assistant to the Finance Minister & State Auditor Govt of Jodhpur	"	"
Mr A P Cox, M A	Director of Education	"	"
" H Cohen	Superintendent, Garage, Jodhpur	"	"

PART XV—*concl'd.*Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States—*concl'd.*

Name.	Designation.	State.	Agency or Residency.
Mr. G. T. Grafton .	Acting Loco. Carriage and Wagon Superintendent, Jodhpur Railway.	Jodhpur .	Western Rajputana States Residency.
„ G. H. R. Wingate.	Acting Deputy Loco. Superintendent	„	„
„ F. F. Forgysson .	Executive Engineer	„	„
„ C. I. Wothorpspoon	Assistant Traffic Superintendent	„	„
„ R. C. Bater	Assistant Traffic Superintendent, J. Rly.	„	„
Miss Cohen	Governess to Raj Shri Baiji Sahiba	Dungarpur.	Mewar Residency and S. R. States Agency.
Mr. J. Fearfield, C.I.E., B.A. (Cantab.), M. Inst. C.E.	Manager, Bikaner State Railway.	Bikaner State	Rajputana Agency.
„ J. A. H. Powell, M.I.E.	Engineer-in-Chief, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ S. T. St. John Parry, B.A. (Cantab.), C.E.	Personal Assistant to the Manager, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ L. Rigg	Loco., Carriage and Wagon Superintendent.	„	„
„ B. A. English, B.A. (Cantab.).	Tutor to His Highness' grandsons	„	„
„ P. G. Rodriguez .	Assistant Engineer, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ P. R. Brown, B.Sc. (Sydney).	Traffic Superintendent, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ W. H. James	Band Master	„	„
„ S. C. Cook	Electrical and Mechanical Engineer and Automobile Engineer.	„	„
„ R. H. T. Mackenzie	Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads.	„	„
„ W. C. Dooris	Boring Engineer	„	„
„ T. A. Jones	Assistant Electrical and Mechanical Engineer, Bikaner.	„	„
„ E. G. L. Laird MacGregor.	Chief Minister, Sirohi State	Sirohi State	„
„ A. N. Thorpe	Consulting Engineer	Dholpur .	E. R. S. Agency.
„ M. H. Irons, A.M. I.C.E. (on leave).	Manager, U. C. Railway	Udaipur .	Mewar Residency and S. R. S. Agency.
Lt.-Col. G. W. Anderson, C.I.E.	Vice-President and Finance Member, State Council.	Tonk .	Jaipur Residency.
Mr. R. S. De C. Meade	Guardian to Sahibzada Mohammad Ismail Ali Khan, brother of His Highness of Tonk.	„	„
„ W. D. McD. Cruickshank, O.B.E., Assoc. M. Inst. C. E.	Chief Engineer and Secretary in P. W. D.	Bharatpur .	E. R. S. Agency.
Captain A. G. S. Alexander.	Tutor and Guardian to H. H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.	„	„
„ H. A. Nestor	Assistant Superintendent, Police	Alwar .	Jaipur Residency.
Major A. H. Wheeler .	State Engineer	Alwar .	Jaipur Residency.
Dr. E. Pfeil	Superintendent, Zenana Hospital .	„	„
Mrs. H. B. Morton	Companion to Her Highness the Junior Maharani.	„	„
Mr. L. S. H. Martyn .	Manager, Joy-Vilas, Mount Abu .	„	„
„ P. R. Brown	Traffic Superintendent, Bikaner State Railway, Bikaner.	Bikaner .	Rajputana Agency.

PART XVI.

Government Officers lent to States

Name	Substantive appointment in British Service	Appointment held in Indian States with date
Mr S G Edgar, I S E	Superintending Engineer, Burma	Superintending Engineer, Jodhpur State, 6th November 1929 and P W Minister, Govt of Jodhpur (temporary) 20th June 1934 and permanent, 2nd May 1935
Major C P Hancock, OBE, MC, I A	Officer of the Political Department of the Government of India	President Council of State, Bharatpur 5th May 1932
Mr R F T Farrant	Assistant Engineer, Irrigation Department, Punjab	Executive Engineer North Division Irrigation Department Bikaner, 11th November 1935 (on leave)
Rai Sahib R L Batra B A., LL B., PCS	Punjab Provincial Service	Revenue Member Council of State Bharatpur State, September 1927
Mr A W Robertson, DFC IP	Superintendent of Police Ajmer Merwara Ajmer	Dewan and Finance Member, Bundi State 25th September 1936
Mr V N Mehta B A., Bar at law, ICS	Commissioner, United Provinces	Prime Minister Pikaner State, 22nd December 1936
Rai Sahib A K Kaul, B A	Superintendent, Foreign and Political Department, Government of India	Secretary to His Highness' Government in the Foreign and Political Department, Bikaner State 29th September 1936
S Lachman Singh	Inspector, Co-operative Societies, Phillaur	Deputy Registrar, Co-operative Societies Bharatpur
Major F J Loftus Tottenham, I A	2nd King Edward Own Gurkha Rifles	Commandant, Mowat Force, 20th April 1935
Rai Bahadur Chhagan Nath	Assistant Surgeon	Incharge, Leprosy Hospital at Udaipur

PART XV—*concl'd.*Europeans other than Government Officers employed in States—*concl'd.*

Name.	Designation.	State.	Agency or Residency.
Mr. G. T. Grafton .	Acting Loco. Carriage and Wagon Superintendent, Jodhpur Railway.	Jodhpur .	Western Rajputana States Residency.
„ G. H. R. Wingate.	Acting Deputy Loco. Superintendent	„	„
„ F. F. Fergusson .	Executive Engineer	„	„
„ C. I. Wotherspoon	Assistant Traffic Superintendent	„	„
„ R. C. Bater .	Assistant Traffic Superintendent, J. Rly.	„	„
Miss Cohen . . .	Governess to Raj Shri Baiji Sahiba	Dungarpur.	Mewar Residency and S. R. States Agency.
Mr. J. Fearfield, C.I.E., B.A. (Cantab.), M. Inst. C.E.	Manager, Bikaner State Railway.	Bikaner State	Rajputana Agency.
„ J. A. H. Powell, M.I.E.	Engineer-in-Chief, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ S. T. St. John Parry, B.A. (Cantab.), C.E.	Personal Assistant to the Manager, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ L. Rigg . . .	Loco., Carriage and Wagon Superintendent.	„	„
„ B. A. English, B.A. (Cantab.).	Tutor to His Highness' grandsons	„	„
„ P. G. Rodriguez .	Assistant Engineer, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ P. R. Brown, B.Sc. (Sydney).	Traffic Superintendent, Bikaner State Railway.	„	„
„ W. H. James .	Band Master	„	„
„ S. C. Cook . .	Electrical and Mechanical Engineer and Automobile Engineer.	„	„
„ R. H. T. Mackenzie	Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads.	„	„
„ W. C. Dooris .	Boring Engineer	„	„
„ T. A. Janes .	Assistant Electrical and Mechanical Engineer, Bikaner.	„	„
„ E. G. L. Laird MacGregor.	Chief Minister, Sirohi State .	Sirohi State	„
„ A. N. Thorpe .	Consulting Engineer	Dholpur .	E. R. S. Agency.
„ M. H. Irens, A.M. I.C.E. (on leave).	Manager, U. C. Railway . . .	Udaipur .	Mewar Residency and S. R. S. Agency.
Lt.-Col. G. W. Anderson, C.I.E.	Vice-President and Finance Member, State Council.	Tonk .	Jaipur Residency.
Mr. R. S. De C. Meade	Guardian to Sahibzada Mohammad Ismail Ali Khan, brother of His Highness of Tonk.	„	„
„ W. D. McD. Cruikshank, O.B.E., Assoc. M. Inst. C. E.	Chief Engineer and Secretary in P. W. D.	Bharatpur .	E. R. S. Agency.
Captain A. G. S. Alexander.	Tutor and Guardian to H. H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.	„	„
„ H. A. Nestor .	Assistant Superintendent, Police State Engineer	Alwar .	Jaipur Residency.
Major A. H. Wheeler .	Superintendent, Zenana Hospital .	Alwar .	Jaipur Residency.
Dr. E. Pfeil . . .	Companion to Her Highness the Junior Maharani.	„	„
Mrs. H. B. Morton .	Manager, Jey-Vilas, Mount Abu .	„	„
Mr. L. S. H. Martyn .	Traffic Superintendent, Bikaner State Railway, Bikaner.	Bikaner .	Rajputana Agency.
„ P. R. Brown .			

PART XVI.

Government Officers lent to States.

Name	Substantive appointment in British Service	Appointment held in States with date
Mr S G Edgar, I S E	Superintending Engineer, Burma	Superintending Engineer, Jodhpur State, 6th November 1929 and P W Minister, Govt of Jodhpur (tempo- rary), 20th June 1934 and permanent, 2nd May 1935
Major C P Hancock, O B E, M C, I A	Officer of the Political Department of the Gov- ernment of India	President Council of State, Bharatpur, 5th May 1932
Mr R F T Farrant	Assistant Engineer, Irriga- tion Department, Punjab	Executive Engineer North Division Irrigation Depart- ment Bikaner, 11th No- vember 1935 (on leave)
Rai Sahib R L Batra B A, LL B, PCS	Punjab Provincial Service	Revenue Member, Council of State, Bharatpur State, September 1927
Mr A W Robertson, D F C, I P	Superintendent of Police Ajmer Merwara Ajmer	Dewan and Finance Member, Bundi State 25th September 1936
Mr V N Mehta B A, Bar at law, I C S	Commissioner United Provinces	Prime Minister Bikaner State, 22nd December 1936
Rai Sahib A R Kaul, B A	Superintendent Foreign and Political Depart- ment Government of India	Secretary to His Highness' Government in the Foreign and Political Department, Bikaner State 29th Septem- ber 1936
S Lachman Singh	Inspector, Co operative Societies Phillaur	Deputy Registrar Co operative Societies Bharatpur
Major F J Loftus Tottenham I A	2nd King Edward Own Gurkha Rifles	Commandant, Mewar State Forces 20th April 1935
Rai Bahadur Chhagan Nath	Assistant Surgeon	In charge, Lansdowne Hospital at Udaipur

PART XVI—*contd.*Government Officers lent to States—*contd.*

Name.	Substantive appointment in British Service.	Appointment held in Indian States, with date.
Mr. Basanti Lall Murdia.	Forest Ranger, Central Provinces.	Forest Officer, Udaipur.
Rao Sahib Maharaj Lachman Singh.	Inspector of Police, 1st grade, A/M.	Inspector General of Police, Mewar State, 28th September 1930.
L. Ishar Dass . . .	A Qanungo in the Punjab	Revenue Officer, Ganga Nagar, Bikaner State, 9th November 1912.
Rai Bahadur Dewan Chand.	Deputy Superintendent of Police, Punjab.	Deputy Inspector General of Police, Jaipur, 26th April 1929.
Babu D. N. Chakravarty.	Sub-Inspector, U. P. Police.	Supdt. of Police, Jaipur, 1st May 1932.
Mr. F. S. Young, C.I.E., I.P.	Superintendent, Police, U. P.	Inspector General of Police, Jaipur State.
B. Prem Saran Sinha .	Stenographer to the Deputy Commissioner, Bahraich.	Assistant Secretary to the State Council and Personal Assistant to the Chief Minister, Government of Jodhpur, 10th May 1933.
Lt.-Col. J. P. Huban, O.B.E., I.M.S.	Civil Surgeon, Peshawar	Director of Medical Services, Jaipur State.
Syed Abdul Haq .	Head Clerk, Rajputana Agency.	Superintendent, His Highness' Reserved Departments and Judicial Department, Council of State, Jaipur.
Mr. G. H. A. Wood .	Indian Audit Department	Auditor of Accounts, Jodhpur State Railway, 16th February 1937.

PART XVI—*contd.*Government Officers lent to States—*contd*

Name	Substantive appointment in British Service	Appointment held in Indian States, with date
Major C G Prior, CIE	Officer of the Political Department, Govern- ment of India	Prime Minister, Alwar, 10th November 1936 (Afternoon).
Chahal Behari Lal	Superintendent Account- ant General, Central Revenues' Office, New Delhi	Accountant General, Alwar, 15th August 1933
Ch Mohammad Siddiq	Stenographer, Govern- ment of India	Secretary to Prime Minister, 25th August 1933
Mr Mahesh Behari Lal	Superintendent, Account- ant General, Central Revenues' Office New Delhi	Deputy Accountant General, Alwar, 10th December 1933
Lala Gulab Chandra Jain.	Head Clerk, Rajputana Agency	Officer on special duty, 12th May 1937
L. Ram Lal Anand, PCS	Extra Assistant Com- missioner, Punjab	Revenue Minister, Alwar, 21st October 1933
Miss P K Jhanda Singh	Head Mistress, Punjab	Directress, Female Education, Alwar, 8th September 1933
Khan Bahadur Rabulla Khan	Deputy Superintendent, Police, N W F P	Inspector General of Police, 12th July 1933
Rai Sahib Lala Jawa- har Lal	Dy Superintendent, Police, Punjab	Dy Insp'r Genl of Police, Bikaner, 7th March 1936
Mr G T H Harding, CIE, IP	Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore	Special Officer, Home Depart- ment Bikaner, 26th July 1934
Mr T A W. Poy	Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch	Special Officer, Irrigation Deptt., Ganganagar, 8th December 1934
Mr Chandan Singh Khang	Sub Divisional, Irrigation Department Punjab	Offg Executive Engineer, North Division 20th May 1937

PART XVI—concl'd.**Government Officers lent to States—concl'd.**

Name.	Substantive appointment in British Service.	Appointment held in Indian States, with date.
M. Riazul Islam .	Inspector of Police, U.P.	Superintendent of Police, Thikana Sikar, Jaipur State, 29th January 1936.
Mr. Narain Singh B. Ag.	Superintendent of Agri- culture, Unao, U.P.	Chief Revenue Officer and Director of Agriculture, Jhalawar—1st December 1935.

Full designation	Abbreviated addresses
Agent to the Governor General, Rajputana, and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara	Rajputana
Assistant Military Adviser, Rajputana States Forces	Assistant Rathor, Jaipur
Military Adviser, Rajputana States Forces	Rathor, Jaipur
B Sub Assistant Surgeon	Submedic Ajmer
Secretary to the Agent to the Governor General, Rajputana, and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara	Secretary, Rajputana
Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States	Political Agent, Bharatpur
Resident at Jaipur	Resident, Jaipur
„ in Mewar and P. A., Southern Rajputana States	„ Udaipur
„ Western Rajputana States	„ Jodhpur
Inspector General of Railway Police and Police Assistant to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor General, Rajputana	Inspector General Police, Mount Abu
Principal, Mayo College, Ajmer	Mayo, Ajmer
Sub Inspector of Police (except Bengal and Assam)	Sipol
Shri Ramchandra Lakshman Bank, Dungarpur	Bank, Dungarpur
Customs and Excise Superintendent, Sirohi State	Sircus, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirrev, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirmin, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirjud, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirpan Sirohi.
General Superintendent of Police	Sirpol, Sirohi
Private Secretary to His Highness	Sirchha, Sirohi
Officer in charge of private purse	Sirhoth, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirforest, Sirohi
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sirmag
„ „ „ „ „ „	Alwarendra.
„ „ „ „ „ „	Sumant Alwar
Revenue Minister, Alwar State	Siddharth, Alwar.
Chief Justice, Alwar State	Dharamraj, Alwar.
Home Minister, Alwar State	Mantrapal, Alwar.
Army Minister, Alwar State	Jayant
Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, Alwar	Antarang
Accountant General, Alwar State	Ganit, Alwar
State Engineer, Alwar	Vastu.
Inspector General of Police, Alwar State	Raksha, Alwar
Commander in Chief, Alwar	Senapati.

PART XVII—*concl'd*

viated Telegraphic addresses of Government and State Officials in Rajputana
—*concl'd*

Full designation	Abbreviated addresses
Private Secretary	His Highness Bndi Prime Minister Bndi Assistant Bndi Secretary Bndi Revenue Bndi Finance Bndi Military Bndi Judicial Bndi <i>Public Works Bndi</i> Police Bndi Forest Bndi Customs Bndi Medical Bndi Household Bndi Guest Bndi Garage Bndi Claims Jodhpur Edjodh Jodhpur Electrical Jodhpur. Gardh Jodhpur Jodflight Jodhpur Juniperus Jodhpur Loco Jodhpur Marwarag Jodhpur Pike Jodhpur Railworks Jodhpur Surjodh Jodhpur Supenger Jodhpur Traffic Jodhpur
Controller of Stores Jodhpur Railway	
Chief Engineer Jodhpur Railway	
Principal Medical Officer Raj Marwar	
Superintending Engineer P W D Jodhpur	
Chief Traffic Manager, Jodhpur Railway	

PART XVIII.

Honours, Rewards and Titles.

1.—MOST HON'BLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

Knight Commanders (K.C.B.).

Lieutenant-Genl. His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shiromani Maharajah Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur of Bikaner.	1st Jan. 1918.
Lt. Genl. Sir Ivo. L. B. Vesey, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O. General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command.	..

Companions (C. B.).

Major General A. M. Mills, D.S.O., Military Adviser-in-Chief, Indian State Forces.	..
Major General S. J. P. Scobell, C.M.G., D.S.O., Commander, Mhow District.	..

2.—ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

Knight Commanders (G.C.S.I.).

Lieutenant-Genl. His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shiromani Maharajah Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur of Bikaner.	17th Dec. 1911.
Lieut.-Col. His Highness Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur of Kotah.	Ditto.
His Highness Maharajadhiraja Maharan Sir Bhupal Singh Bahadur of Udaipur	1st Jan. 1931.
Colonel His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja Dhiraja Sir Umaid Singh Bahadur of Jodhpur.	23rd June 1936.

Knight Commanders (K.C.S.I.).

Colonel Maharaj Shri Sir Bheirun Sirghji Bahadur, Bikaner.	1st Jan. 1916.
Lieut.-Col. His Highness Maharajadhiraja Sawai Maharaj Rana Sir Uda Singh Bahadur of Dholpur.	1st Jan. 1918.
His Highness Maharajadhiraja Maharawal Sir Jawahir Singh Bahadur of Jaisalmer.	Ditto.
His Highness Maharajadhiraja Mahaarao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur of Sirohi.	3rd June 1924.
His Highness Rai-Rayan Maharawal Sri Lakshman Singh Bahadur of Dungarpur.	3rd June 1935.
His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhom Pal Deo Bahadur, Yadukul Chandra Bhal, Karauli.	1st Jan. 1935.

Companions (C.S.I.).

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Sir George Ogilvie, Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara.	1st Jan. 1932.
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PART XVIII—contd.

Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.

Date of grant

2-4 -ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL & ST. GEORGE COMPANIONS (C M G ,

Major General S J P Scobel C B D S O Commander, Mhow District

Lt Genl Sir Ivo L B Vessy K C B , K B E D S O General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command

3 -ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

Knight Grand Commanders (G C I E)

Lieutenant Genl His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shiromani Maharajah Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur of Bikaner

1st Jan 1907

Lieut Col His Highness Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur of Kotah

28th June 1907-

His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraja

1st Jan 1930

1st Jan 1931

1st Jan 1932

His Highness Said ud Dowla Wazir ul Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Saadat Ali Khan Bahadur Saulat Jang of Tonk

1st Jan 1934

Captain His Highness Saramad Rajah Hindustan Raj Rajendra Shri Maharaja Dhiraja Sawai Man Singh Bahadur of Jaipur

3rd June 1935-

Major His Highness Nawab Sir Taley Mohammad Khan Sher Mohammad Khan, K C V O

1st Jan 1932

His Highness Maharao Raja Ishwari Singh Bahadur of Bundi

11th May 1937

Knight Commanders (K C I E).

His Highness Maharajadhiraja Maharana Sir Bhupal Singh Bahadur of Udaipur

3rd June 1919

His Highness Sri Rai Rayan Maharawal Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur of Banswara

1st Jan 1933

Lt Col Sir H Beauchamp St John C B E , Prime Minister and Vice President Council of State, Jaipur

1st Jan 1930

The Honble Lt Col Sir George Ogilvie, Resident for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara

1st Jan 1936

Asi Bahadur Seth Sir Bisheshwar Das Daga

4th June 1934

Companions (C I E)

Khan Bahadur Pandit Krishna Rao Laxman Paonaskar Ajmer

4th June 1917

Lieut Col Sardar Bahadur Girdhar Singh, Bharatpur (Retd)

11th Aug 1917

Lt Genl Ap Ji Onkar Singh Member, Mehkma Khas Kotah

3rd June 1918

PART XVIII—*contd.*Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*3.—ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE—*contd.*Companions (C.I.E.)—*contd.*

	Date of grant.
Mr. P. L. Bowers, M. C., State Engineer, P. W. D., Jaipur State.	5th March 1919.
Lt.-Col. G. Howson, M. C., English Assistant Master, Mayo College, Ajmer.	1st Jan. 1919.
Colonel Rao Bahadur Thakur Sir Sadul Singhji of Bagsu, Kt. Public Works Minister, Bikaner.	1st Jan. 1920.
Brigadier-General Natha Singh, Sardar Bahadur, O.B.E., late Senapati, Alwar.	1st Jan. 1922.
Major-General Rao Bahadur Thakur Hari Singhji of Sattasar, O.B.E., Army Minister and Master of Ceremonies, Bikaner.	2nd June 1923.
Mr. F. S. Young, Inspector General of Police, Jaipur State.	3rd June 1924.
Rao Bahadur Dhau Bakshi Raghubir Singh, Bharatpur State.	1st Jan. 1925.
Lt.-Col. Dhabai Ganeshi Lal, Joint Home Minister, Alwar.	1st Mar. 1929.
Mr. F. V. Wylie, I.C.S., Resident at Jaipur.	3rd June 1928.
Rai Bahadur Pandit Seetla Prasad Bajpai, Judicial Minister, Jaipur State.	2nd Jan. 1933.
Lt.-Col. G. L. Betham, M.C., I.A., Resident in Mewar and Political Agent, Southern Rajputana States, Udaipur.	1st Jan. 1934.
V. A. S. Stow Esqr., M. A., V.D., I. E. S., Principal, Mayo College, Ajmer.	3rd June 1934.
G. T. H. Harding, I. P., Officer on Special Duty, Bikaner State.	..
Col. Sir Donald Moyle, Field, Kt. Chief Minister and Finance Minister, Govt. of Jodhpur	1st Jan. 1935.
Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., Director of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State.	2nd Jan. 1935.
Mr. J. Fearfield, B. A. (Cantab.), M. Inst. C. E., Manager, Bikaner State Railway.	3rd June 1935.
Mr James William Gordon, O.B.E., Manager, Jodhpur State Railway, Jodhpur.	1st Jan. 1936.
Rai Bahadur Lala Jaigopal Puri, Colonization Minister, Bikaner State.	..
Lt. Colonel G. W. Anderson, Vice-President and Finance Member, State Council, Tonk.	1st Jan. 1936.
Major C. G. Prior P. M. Alwar	23rd June 1936.

	Date of grant.
PART XVIII—<i>contd.</i>	
Honours, Rewards and Titles—<i>contd.</i>	
3 A —CROWN OF INDIA	
Her Highness Maharani Sri Bhatiani Sahib of Bikaner	1st Jan 1935.
4 —ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER	
Knight Grand Commander (G C.V.O.).	
Lieutenant Genl His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Shriromani Maharajah Shri Ganga Singhi Bahadur of Bikaner	1st Jan. 1919.
Knight Commanders (K C.V.O.).	
Colonel His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja Dhiraja Sir Umaid Singh Bahadur of Jodhpur	17th Mar 1922.
Leut Col His Highness Maharajadhiraja Sawai Maharaj M	Ditto Ditto.
C.V.O.	
Captain Maharaj Kumar Shri Sadul Singhi Bahadur of Bikaner	17th March 1922
M.V.O.	
Major Lakh Ram Bahadur, M C , I D S M , Commandant, 2nd Jaipur Infantry, Jaipur	25th July 1925.
Brigadier R C Duncan, O B E , Military Adviser and Military Secretary to H H the Maharaja of Jodhpur	3rd June 1929.
Knights.	
Colonel Rao Bahadur Thakur Sir Sadul Singhi, C I E , . Vice President of State Council and Public Works Minister, Bikaner State	3rd June 1935.
Lt. Col Sir Donald Moyle Field, C I E , Chief Minister and Finance Minister, Jodhpur State	1st January 1937

PART XVIII.—*contd.*
Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*
8.—KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL—*contd.*
(2nd Class)—*contd.*

- Mr. A. M. MacKenzie
 Augustin, The Revd. Father, Ajmer
 Miss Rachael Peterson, Missionary, Ajmer
 S. A. S. Har Narain, Local Regimental Office, Kotah, Rajputana.
 Honorary Captain and Senior Assistant Surgeon Arthur Willerchby Woodward-Sadler, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, attached to Railway Hospital, Ajmer.
 Lala Govind Lal, S. A. S. on foreign service under the Ajmer Municipality.
 Lt.-Col. Chaudhri Ghamandi Singh, General Member, State Council, Bharatpur State.
 Khan Bahadur Darashah Nowroji Modi, late Attaché to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana.
 Miss V. C. Saunders C. M. S. Mission, Bharatpur
 Mrs. Lucy Tarleton, Superintendent, Jaswant Female Hospital Jodhpur.
 Mrs. R. C. Duncan, Jodhpur
D.S.O.
 Lt.-Col. W. P. Hogg, M.C., I.M.S., Residency Surgeon, Mewar
 Major-Genl. A. M. Mills, C.B., Military Adviser-in-Chief, Indian States Forces.
 Major-General S. J. P. Scobell, C.B., C.M.G., Commander, Mhow District.
 Lt. Genl. Sir, Ivo L. B. Vesey, K.C.B., K.B.E., C.M.G., G.O.C. Southern Command.

9.—KING'S POLICE MEDAL.

- Mr. F. S. Young, Inspector-General of Police, Jaipur
 Subhan Khan, Constable, Ajmer-Merwara
 Khan Bahadur M. R. Kothawala, O.B.E., Inspector-General of Police and Superintendent, Central Jail, Jodhpur.
 Dal Bahadur Singh, Constable, II-grade, Jaipur State Police
 Thakur Bakhtawar Singh, Superintendent of Police, Jodhpur
 Chand Ram, Constable, Ajmer-Merwara
 Khan Sahib Syed Ahmed, Inspector, Ajmer-Merwara
 M. Khaliluddin Ghauri, Sub-Inspector of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Rajputana.
 Thakur Kan Singh, Superintendent of Police, Jodhpur State, Jodhpur.
 Dharendra Nath Chakarverty Superintendent of Police, Jaipur.
"9A.—BAR TO KING'S POLICE MEDAL"
 Mr. F. S. Young, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Police, Jaipur State.

9B.—INDIAN POLICE MEDAL.

- Mr. G. T. Beer, Offg. Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, Ajmer.
 Naubat Singh Head Constable Jaipur State
 Rai Sahib Lala Jawahir Lal, Deputy Inspector General of Police.

PART XVIII—*contd*Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*

10—INDIAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL.

	Date of grant.
	3rd June 1916
	1st Jan 1918
	1st Jan 1917.
	3rd June 1916
	20th July 1918.
	29th July 1918
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto.
	Ditto
	Ditto
	26th April 1919
	3rd June 1918
	23rd Sept 1918.
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto
	Ditto.
	Ditto.
	Ditto
	11th Jan. 1919.
	..
Corps, Jaipur	
Major Lakh Ram, Jaipur Infantry	..
Daff Roop Singh, No 1263, Jodhpur Lancers	17th Feb 1918.
L Daff Zahm Singh, No 1485, Jodhpur Lancers	Ditto.
Daff Bhur Singh, No 1121, Jodhpur Lancers	Ditto.
Daff Jog Singh, No 1119, Jodhpur Lancers	15th Feb 1919.
Ahsan Hussain, Naik, 1140, Bharatpur Infantry	11th June 1917.
Hira, Jamadar 2247, Bharatpur Infantry	22nd June 1917.
Nathu Jamadar, 2020, Bharatpur Infantry	21st Jan. 1918
Zomal L Naik, 1817, Bharatpur Infantry (not traceable)	Ditto
Subedar Major Piare Lal, Bharatpur Infantry	11th Feb 1918
Head Warder Sugan Singh, Central Jail, Jaipur.	..

PART XVIII—contd.

Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.

10.—INDIAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL—concl'd.

	Date of grant.
Thakur Bakhtawar Singh, late Commandant, Bikaner Camel Corps.	26th June 1907.
Faiz Ali Khan, No. 1158, Sepoy, No. 1169, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	25th Dec. 1914.
Lieut.-Col. Thakur Moti Singh, I. D. S. M., No. 639, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	3rd June 1916.
Sepoy No. 900, Bulwant Singh, Naik, No. 640, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	Ditto.
Subedar Sadul Singh, I. D. S. M., No. 641, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	Ditto.
Naik No. 1326, Sukan Singh, Naik, No. 641, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	Ditto.
Rao Bahadur Col. Thakur Balu Singh, Bahadur, Commandant, Sadul Light Infantry, Bikaner.	23rd June 1917.
Sepoy No. 1231, Dhir Singh, No. 1457, Bikaner Ganga Risala.	29th June 1918.
Subedar Bhur Singh, No. 1180, Bikaner Ganga Risala . . .	3rd June 1918.
Captain Johri Singh, I. D. S. M., Bikaner Ganga Risala . . .	3rd June 1919.
Khawaja Bux, Jemadar, Bikaner Ganga Risala . . .	Ditto.
Captain Zorawar Singh, 1st Umed Infantry, Kotah . . .	21st Jan. 1916.
Subedar Hazari Singh, 1st Umed Infantry, Kotah . . .	Ditto

11.—MERITORIOUS SERVICE MEDAL.

Kharag Singh, Havildar, 1280, Infantry . . .	4th May 1918.
Subedar Mohar Singh, Infantry . . .	Ditto
Yasin, Naik, 1218, Infantry . . .	Ditto.
Sanwalia, Sepoy, 999, Infantry . . .	Ditto.
Narain, Sepoy, 1117, Infantry . . .	Ditto.
Zorawar, Sepoy, 1396, Infantry . . .	Ditto.
Harna, Sepoy, 1225, Sepoy, Jey Paltan, Alwar . . .	3rd June 1918.
Lt. Kothari Lal, Jey Paltan, Alwar . . .	Ditto.
Jemadar Mustafa Beg, Jey Paltan, Alwar . . .	Ditto.
Naik Phosiya, 1323, Jey Paltan, Alwar . . .	1st Mar. 1919.
Sultan Singh, Sowar, 1163, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Samel Singh, Daffadar, 1431, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Surajbux Singh, Daffadar, 1397, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Jog Singh, Tempy. Dfr., 1334, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Arjun Singh, Daffadar, 1373, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Ashraf Khan, Sowar, 1050, 1st Jodhpur Lancers . . .	..
Risaldar Onkar Singh, Mewar Lancers . . .	16th April 1920.
Subedar Major Kishore Singh, J. H. I., Bharatpur . . .	Ditto.
Havildar Major Bhawani Singh, 2203, J. H. I., Bharatpur . . .	Ditto.
Udai Singh, Daffadar, 1237, Bharatpur (not traceable) . . .	20th July 1918.
Jhang Singh, Sowar, 1316, Bharatpur (not traceable) . . .	Ditto.
Jemadar Kehar Singh, Jaipur Lancers . . .	26th Nov. 1920.

Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.

14.—**ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE MEDAL**
Dahlan Singh B. A. Jan 1910 1st Lt. Hon. - Y. - -

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PART XVIII—*contd.*

Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*

11.—MERITORIOUS SERVICE MEDAL—*concl'd.*

Lachman Singh, Jamadar, Bhupal Infantry	1st Oct. 1930.
Jemadar Gopal Singh, Sajjan Infantry, Mowar State	24th May 1920.

12.—INDIAN ORDER OF MERIT.

Moti Singh, No. 1470, Sowar, 1st Jodhpur Lancers	21st Dec. 1914.
Gulab Singh, No. 1392, Sowar, 1st Jodhpur Lancers	Ditto.
Risaldar Shaitan Singh, 1st Jodhpur Lancers	29th July 1918.
Major Kishan Singh Bohra, I. O. M., Sardar Bahadur, Sajjan Infantry, Mewar State Forces, Udaipur.	17th Feb. 1917.
Amar Singh, Daffadar, 1444, 1st Jodhpur Lancers	Ditto.
Aman Singh	3rd Sep. 1918.
Sepoy, No. 1534, Ali Khan, late of Bikaner Ganga Risala	24th Dec. 1914.
Bhur Singh, late Subedar of Bikaner Ganga Risala	3rd June 1916.
Jor Singh, Daffadar, 1029, 2nd Jodhpur Lancers	29th July 1918.

13.—MILITARY CROSS.

Lt.-Col. G. Howson, C.I.E., English Assistant Master, Mayo College, Ajmer.	1915.
Mr. P. L. Bowers, C.I.E., State Engineer, Jaipur	3rd June 1917.
Lt.-Col. C. O. B. Daunt, Commandant, Jaipur Lancers	18th Dec. 1917.
Major C. P. Hancock, O.B.E., I. A., President, Council of State, Bharatpur.	
Mr. E. E. V. Temperly, Chief Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	1st Jan. 1918.
Mr. C. G. Jones, Executive Engineer, Jodhpur Railway	3rd June 1919.
Lt.-Col. R. P. T. French, Commandant, 1st Jaipur Lancers	24th Sep. 1918.
Major Lakhi Ram, M.V.O., I.O.M., Commandant, 2nd Jaipur Infantry.	18th Feb. 1915.
Lt.-Col. G. L. Betham, C.I.E., Resident in Mewar and Political Agent, Southern Rajputana States.	18th Feb. 1918.
Lt.-Col. W. P. Hogg, D.S.O., I.M.S., Residency Surgeon, Mewar . . . . .	..
Major J. B. Coates, Brigade Major, Mhow Brigade Area . . . . .	..
Major N. E. I. Pocock, 2nd Bn., Raj. Rifles, Asstt. Recruiting Officer, Rajputana P. W. O. and C. I.	..
Major G. H. Osmaston, R. E., Officer-in-charge, No. 1 Party, Survey of India.	..
Mr. J. F. Conlin, I.P., Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara . . . . .	..

Date of grant.

Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*

No. 2

Nil

NAWAR

RAJA.

Raj Singh of Rajgarh, Ajmer Merwara

Kalvan Singh of Gungwana, A M

Ranchor Sen, Istimardar of Pisangan.

DEWAN.

Syed Al-i Rasul Ali Khan Sajjada—Durgah Khwaja Saheb,
Ajmer

15 A —NAWAB

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Chowdhri Mohammad Din,
Revenue Minister, Government Jodhpur

3rd June 1935.

16 — RAJA.

1st Jan 1924

12th Dec 1911.

3rd June 1918

3rd June 1924.

4th June 1928

12th Dec 1911.

Ditto

3rd June 1925

1st Jan 1930

3rd June 1931

1st Jan 1932

3rd June 1933

19 —SARDAR BAHADUR

Major Narain Singh, Bharatpur (Retd)

12th Dec 1911

Brigadier General Natha Singh O B E.

22nd June 1897

Bhagwan Singh, Bar-at-Law, Legal Remembrancer to the Government and Legal Adviser to Jhalas Khas, Jodhpur

Sardar Kishen Singh, I G P, Karauli

PART XVIII—contd.**Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.****20.—KHAN BAHADUR.**

	Date of grant.
Munshi Muhammad Ahmad Ali Khan, Retired Member, State Council, Jaipur.	1st Jan. 1910.
Mian Abdul Aziz, C.B.E., Revenue Member, Council of State, Jaipur.	1st Jan. 1927.
Munshi Mohd. Abdul Haq, Judge, Chief Court, Jaipur . . .	1st Jan. 1936.
Mr. Darashah Nowroji Modi, Mount Abu . . .	1st Jan. 1914.
Azamul-Umra Viqarul-Mulk Sahibzada Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Sitwat-i-Jang.	3rd June 1922.
Mr. M. R. Kothawala, O.B.E., Inspector-General of Police and Superintendent, Central Jail, Jodhpur.	3rd June 1924.
Sheikh Ikram-ul-Haq, Superintendent of Police, Bharatpur. .	1st Jan. 1927.
Mr. Ardesahir Cawasji Postwala, Mount Abu . . .	1st Jan. 1931.
Syed Raza Hussain, B.A., L.T., Head Master, Moinia Islamia High School.	..
M. Abdul Wahid Khan, B.A., LL.B., Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor, Ajmer.	3rd June 1931.
Sheikh Rahim Bakhsh, O.B.E., Judicial Member, State Council, Tonk.	3rd June 1916.
The Hon'ble Nawab Chowdhri Mohammad Din, Revenue Minister, Government Jodhpur, Jodhpur.	3rd June 1919.
Makhdoom Syed Sher Shah Jilani, District and Sessions Judge, Tonk.	3rd June 1927.
Moulvi Abdul Halim, B.A., LL.B., Judicial Member, Council of State, Bharatpur.	1st Jan. 1932.
Sahibzada Mohammad Abdul Tawab Khan, Salar Jang, Home Member, State Council, Tonk.	2nd Jan. 1933.
Seth Hormusji Merwanji, Proprietor, Rajputana Hotel, Mt. Abu	1st Jan. 1934.
M. Ruhullah Khan, Alwar State . . .	1st Jan. 1932.
Mr. Rustomji C. Framji Honorary Magistrate, Nasirabad .	1st Feb. 1937.

21.—RAI BAHADUR.

Sir Bisheshwar Das Daga, Banker of Bikaner . . .	9th Nov. 1901.
Kanhaiya Lal Bagla, Banker of Churu, Bikaner . . .	28th June 1907.
Daljang Singh Khanka, M.B., Jaipur . . .	14th June 1912.
Bhairon Lal, Retired Hakim Fauj, Kotah . . .	3rd June 1913.
edit Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.	Ditto.
Mr. Nand Mal, Retired E. A. C. of Forest, Ajmer-Merwara .	..
Seth Hazari Mal Agarwala of Dudhwa Khara . . .	1st January 1915.
Raja Seth Baldeo Das Birla of Pilani, Shekhawati, Jaipur .	1st Jan. 1918.
P. Seetla Pershad Bajpai, C.I.E., Judicial Member, Council of State, Jaipur.	3rd June 1919.
Munshi Kunj Behari Lal, Revenue Secretary and Chief Justice, Dholpur.	4th June 1921.
Mr. Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., C.I.E., Director of Archæology and Historical Research, Jaipur State.	1st Jan. 1919.

PART XVIII—*contd.*

Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*

21.—RAI BAHADUR—*contd.*

Seth Manack Chandji, Proprietor of the firm of Messrs Binodiram Balchand of Jhalra	3rd June 1922.
Lala Jai Gopal Puri, Revenue Commissioner, Ganga Nagar Division, Bikaner State	1st Jan 1923
Lt Col Thakur Debi Singh, Sigha Member, Council of State, Jaipur	2nd June 1923.
Mr Nand Lal, Rtd Assistant Surgeon, Ajmer	1st Jan 1924
Mr D M Nanawati, B A, LL B, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bikaner State	1st Jan 1925.
Seth Madan Gopal, Banker, Bikaner	1st Jan 1926.
Seth Bridh Mail, Honorary Magistrate and Member, Municipal Committee, Ajmer	3rd July 1926.
Seth Rameshwari Lal Agarwala of Dudhwa Khara	1st Jan 1927.
Pandit Amar Nath Atal, M A, Finance Minister, Jaipur State	4th June 1928.
L Nihal Chand Sarwal, Accountant General Bikaner	1st Mar. 1929.
Pandit Champalal, Retd Superintendent, Jail (Lucknow) Jaipur	3rd June 1929.
Seth Asaram Jhanwar of Dungargarh	3rd June 1929
Seth Mantulal Tapadia of Ratangarh	11th Jan 1930.
	3rd June 1930.
	3rd June 1930.
	Ditto
Mr Kishenlal, lately Extra Asst Commissioner, Marwara	1st Jan 1931
M Dewan Chand, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Jaipur	Ditto
Pt Triloki Nath, B A, LL B, Joint City Magte, Ajmer and Deputy Magte, Nasirabad	3rd June 1931
	3rd June 1932.
	1st Jan 1933
	3rd June 1933.
	1st Jan 1934
	4th June 1934.
	Ditto
	1st Jan 1935
	1st Jan 1936.
	Ditto
Mr Raj Narain Ajmer	
L. Ram Sahai, Assistant Engineer, Ajmer	
Dr Mukand Lal, L M S, P S M S, (Retired Civil Surgeon)	
Sardar Kahn Chand, Member Mehakma Khas Kotah	
Mr A C Bose, Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bikaner	
Seth Gadhmal Lodha, Honorary Magistrate, Ajmer	11th May 1937.
22—RAO BABADUR	
	1st Jan 1904
	2nd Jan 1911.

PART XVIII—contd.
Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.

22.—RAO BAHADUR—contd.

	Date of grant.
Major-Genl. Thakur Hari Singhji of Sattasar, C.I.E., O.B.E., Army Minister and Master of Ceremonies, Bikaner.	1st Jan. 1915.
Thakur Sir Sadul Singhji of Bagseu, Kt., C.I.E., Public Works Minister, Bikaner	3rd June 1915.
Raj Bijey Singh of Kunari in Kotah State	1st Jan. 1918.
Thakur Kishen Singhji of Raslana, Tazimi Sardar, Bikaner . .	3rd June 1918.
Thakur Bhur Singhji of Surnana, Comptroller of the Household, Bikaner.	23rd June 1918.
Col. Thakur Baney Singhji of Khiyeran, Bikaner	3rd Jan. 1921.
Col. Thakur Gop Singhji of Malasar, Bikaner	1st Jan. 1921.
Maharaj Madho Singh of Gainta, Kotah State	4th June 1921.
Thakur Nathu Singh of Ras, Member, Advisory Council, Jodhpur.	Ditto.
Lt.-Col. Thakur Dalpat Singh of Rohta, Jodhpur	3rd June 1922.
Thakur Girdhari Singh of Chandawal, Marwar	1st Jan. 1922.
Mr. Murarji Raoji Sapat, late Diwan, Jaisalmer State	3rd June 1922.
Rao Nahar Singh of Bedla, Mewar	3rd June 1925.
Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner, Education Minister, Jaipur State.	Ditto.
Rawal Zorawar Singh of Jasole, Mallani, Jodhpur State . . .	1st Jan. 1926.
Lt.-Col. Rajvi Gulab Singhji of Rajasar, Inspector-General of Police, Bikaner.	Ditto.
Rao Sahib Onkar Singh, Assistant Surgeon, Hawson Hospital, Jodhpur.	3rd July 1926.
Thakur Daulat Singhji of Kumbhana, Master of the House- hold, Bikaner.	3rd June 1927.
Rao Sahib Thakur Chain Singh, M.A., LL.B., of Pokaran . .	4th June 1928.
Seth Shiva Ratan Mohta, Banker, Bikaner	Ditto.
Rao Raja Narpal Singh, Jodhpur.	3rd June 1929.
Thakur Bejey Singh of Masuda	3rd June 1931.
Thakur Fateh Singh of Asop (Marwar).	2nd Jan. 1933.
Thakur Onkar Singh, General Manager, Court of Wards, Ajmer	3rd June 1933.
Thakur Jai Singh of Umaidnagar, Jodhpur State	4th June 1934.
Major Thakur Jeoraj Singhji of Sarothia, Military Secretary to His Highness the Maharajah, Bikaner.	..
Col. Thakur Balu Singh, Sardar Bahadur, O.B.I., I.D.S.M., Commandant, Sadul Light Infantry, Bikaner.	1st Feb. 1937.
Rao Raja Major Hanut Singh, Comptroller of Stables, Jodhpur.	9th May 1937.

23.—KHAN SAHIB.

Munshi Yakub Khan, late Inspector-General, Veterinary De- partment, Alwar.	29th June 1906.
Mr. Phirozshah Ratanji Kothawala, Jodhpur	3rd June 1916.
Haji Abdulla Khan, Station Master, Jaipur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway (Retired).	Ditto.
Munshi Abdul Samad Khan, Nazim, Jaipur State	4th June 1917.

PART XVIII—contd.**Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.****23.—KHAN SAHIB—contd.**

	Date of grant
Mr. Mehrwan Manakji Khambatta, Registrar, Mehakma Khas, Jaipur.	1st Jan. 1919
Saiyad Habib-ush-Shafi, Wakil, Tonk Darbar, Mount Abu	Ditto
Md. Abdul Haq, Veterinary Graduate, Ajmer	10th June 1920.
Second grade (Civil) Senior S. A. S. Abid Masih, Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara (Retired)	1st Jan. 1921
M. Ghaffar Hussain A. Syed, M.A., LL.B., Senior Indian Assistant Master (Post Diploma), Mayo College (Retd.).	January 1925.
Mr. Rustomji Cursetji Framji, Honorary Magistrate, Nasirabad, Ajmer-Merwara.	4th June 1928.
Mr. Zahoor Masih, Ajmer-Merwara, Senior Officer, Uniarra State	1st Mar. 1929.
Munshi Abdulla Khan, Station Master, Jaipur (Retired).	1st Jan. 1930.
Syed Ahmad, Inspector Police, A M	1st June 1931.
Mir Sikander Ali, Palace Physician, Kishengarh	3rd June 1931.
Suleman Khan, Subedar Major, Mina Corps (Rtd)	3rd June 1932.
Mohd. Ibrahim Khan, Secretary, Municipal Committee, Ajmer	Ditto.
Mr. Nadirshah Shahpurji Koyaji, Head Master, B., B. and C. I. Railway High School, Abu Road.	1st Jan. 1935.
Syed Tajammul Husain, Head Clerk, Mewar Residency, Udaipur.	Ditto.
Mirza Hamid Ali Khan, Secretary, Tonk	3rd June 1935.
Mir Mumtaz Hussain, Deputy Superintendent of Police, C. I. D. and City, Ajmer.	23rd June 1936.
Mr. T. G. Dalal, Secretary, Political Department, Mehakma Khas, Jodhpur State.	1st January 1937.
Seth Abdul Latif Allarrakha, Honorary Magistrate, Ajmer	11th May 1937.

24.—SARDAR SAHIB.

Sardar Dikhan Singh, Director of Veterinary Services, Alwar	1932
Forces.	12th May 1937.

25.—RAI SAHIB.

Munshi D. B. Singh, Ajmer	12th Dec. 1912
" kaner	14th June 1912.
" Auditor, Jaipur State	Ditto.
1st Jan. 1918.	
1st Jan. 1918.	
Parohit Shridhar, Revenue Member, Kishengarh	Ditto.
1st Jan. 1918.	
1st Jan. 1918.	
tal, Udaipur (Retired).	Ditto.
Seth Moti Lal, Beawar	Ditto.
M. Kishen Dayal Singh, Supdt, Raj Postal Department, Jaipur.	
Dr. Madanlal Agarwala, Bikaner	1st
Munshi Bhagwati Lal, Member, Mahendraj Sabha, Udaipur	

PART XVIII—*contd.*

Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd.*

25.—RAI SAHIB—*contd.*

	Date of grant.
Thanvi Sanghi Dass, Banker of Phalodi, Jodhpur State	1st Jan. 1920.
Mr. Dina Nath Sharma, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Mayo College Hospital, Ajmer.	5th June 1920.
Lt.-Col. Shankar Narayan Parnaik, L.M.S., Commandant, Military Station Hospital, Jodhpur.	1st June 1921.
Munshi Radha Mohan Lal, Retired Judge, Chief Court, Jaipur.	1st Jan. 1921.
Seth Lal Chand, of the Firm of Binodiram Balchand of Jhalrapatan.	1st Jan. 1923.
B. Chheda Lal, Sachiva Ratna of Jhalawar State	1st Jan. 1925.
Pandit Suraj Narain Sharma, M.A., Mohitmim Zanani Deorhi, Jaipur.	3rd July 1926.
Babu Kanahya Lal, Sanghi, Bikaner.	Ditto.
Lala Madan Lal, Munsif, Alwar . . . . .	..
Lala Jawahar Lal, Dy. Inspector General of Police, Bikaner State.	..
Pandit Shankar Sahai Muttoo, Kamdar of Begun, Mewar. . .	3rd June 1925.
Mr. Lubhu Ram Kalsy, Executive Engineer, South Division, Ganganagar, Bikaner.	13th April 1926.
Mr. Visaji Aidanji, State Engineer, Sirohi State	3rd June 1927.
Lala Suraj Narain, Assistant Surgeon, Beawar	Ditto.
Priyalal Upadhyaya, Municipal Secretary, Udaipur . . .	2nd Jan. 1928.
Babu Madan Gopal, Tonk	1st Mar. 1929.
Pandit P. B. Joshi, M.A., B.Sc.	3rd June 1929.
Munshi Laxmi Narain, Mir Munshi, Darbar, Kishengarh State	Ditto.
Lala Ratan Chand Khanna, Financial Assistant to the State Engineer, Jaipur.	Ditto.
Mr. A. K. Kaul, B.A., Secretary to His Highness, Government in the Foreign and Political Department, Bikaner State .	3rd June 1929.
th Jawaharmal Agarwala, Bikaner	1st Jan. 1930.
Jagat Nandan, Sub-Judge, F. C., Beawar	1st Jan. 1931.
ulwant Rai, Director, Public Instruction, Udaipur . . .	Ditto.
ala Durga Prasad, late Head Clerk, Malwa Bhil Corps, Nasirabad.	Ditto.
L. Ghewar Chand, Agent to the Residency Treasurer, Jaipur.	3rd June 1931.
Mr. Ram Lal Batra, B.A., LL.B., P.C.S., Revenue Member, Bharatpur.	1st Jan. 1932.
Seth Nawal Kishore of Kotputli in Khetri, Rajputana . . .	Ditto.
Pandit Jumnalal, Manager, Lawa Chiefship	3rd June 1932.
Munshi Din Dayal, B.A., Personal Secretary and Judge, High Court, Dholpur.	Ditto.
M. Gopinath, Honorary Magistrate, F. C. and Chairman, Section A, Ajmer.	1st Jan. 1933.
Lala Govind Lal, S.A.S., on Foreign Service under the Ajmer Municipality.	..

PART XVIII—contd.

Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.

25.—RAI SAHIB—contd.

	Date of grant.
Thanvi Sanghi Dass, Banker of Phalodi, Jodhpur State . . .	1st Jan. 1920.
Mr. Dina Nath Sharma, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Mayo College Hospital, Ajmer.	5th June 1920..
Lt.-Col. Shankar Narayan Parnaik, L.M.S., Commandant, Military Station Hospital, Jodhpur.	1st June 1921..
Munshi Radha Mohan Lal, Retired Judge, Chief Court, Jaipur.	1st Jan. 1921.
Seth Lal Chand, of the Firm of Binodiram Balchand of Jhalra-patan.	1st Jan. 1923.
B. Chheda Lal, Sachiya Ratna of Jhalawar State . . .	1st Jan. 1925..
Pandit Suraj Narain Sharma, M.A., Mohtim Zanani Deorhi, Jaipur.	3rd July 1926.
Babu Kanahya Lal, Sanghi, Bikaner.	Ditto.
Lala Madan Lal, Munsif, Alwar . . . . .	..
Lala Jawahar Lal, Dy. Inspector General of Police, Bikaner State.	..
Pandit Shankar Sahai Muttoo, Kamdar of Begun, Mewar.	3rd June 1925.
Mr. Lubhu Ram Kalsy, Executive Engineer, South Division, Ganganagar, Bikaner.	13th April 1926..
Mr. Visaji Aidanji, State Engineer, Sirohi State	3rd June 1927.
Lala Suraj Narain, Assistant Surgeon, Beawar	Ditto.
Priyalal Upadhya, Municipal Secretary, Udaipur	2nd Jan. 1928.
Babu Madan Gopal, Tonk	1st Mar. 1929.
Pandit P. B. Joshi, M.A., B.Sc.	3rd June 1929.
Munshi Laxmi Narain, Mir Munshi, Darbar, Kishengarh State	Ditto.
Lala Ratan Chand Khanna, Financial Assistant to the State Engineer, Jaipur.	Ditto.
Mr. A. K. Kaul, B.A., Secretary to His Highness, Government in the Foreign and Political Department, Bikaner State . .	3rd June 1929..
Jawaharmal Agarwala, Bikaner	1st Jan. 1930.
Jagat Nandan, Sub-Judge, F. C., Beawar	1st Jan. 1931..
Ant Rai, Director, Public Instruction, Udaipur	Ditto.
Durga Prasad, late Head Clerk, Malwa Bhil Corps, Nasirabad.	Ditto.
L. Ghewar Chand, Agent to the Residency Treasurer, Jaipur.	3rd June 1931..
Mr. Ram Lal Batra, B.A., LL.B., P.C.S., Revenue Member, Bharatpur.	1st Jan. 1932.
Seth Nawal Kishore of Kotputli in Khetri, Rajputana	Ditto.
Pandit Jumnalal, Manager, Lawa Chiefship	3rd June 1932.
Munshi Din Dayal, B.A., Personal Secretary and Judge, High Court, Dholpur.	Ditto.
M. Gopinath, Honorary Magistrate, F. C. and Chairman, Section A, Ajmer.	1st Jan. 1933.
Lala Govind Lal, S.A.S., on Foreign Service under the Ajmer Municipality.	..

PART XVIII—*contd*Honours, Rewards and Titles—*contd*25—**RAI SAHIB**—*concl'd*

	Date of grant.
Ram Swaroop Rawat, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Merwara	3rd June 1933.
Ch of Medical Officer Dholpur	Ditto
" " " "	1st Jan 1934.
" " " "	Ditto
" " " "	Ditto
" " " "	Ditto
" " " "	1st Jan 1935.
" " " "	Ditto
" " " "	1st Jan. 1935
" " " "	3rd June 1935.
" " " "	"
Edn Alwar	"
Mr Madan Mohan Varma, M A, Secretary, Board of High School and Inter Education, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior	1st Jan. 1932
Rega Ram, Subedar, The Mina Corps (Rtd)	23rd June 1935
Mr Ghisoo Lal, Hon Assistant Secretary, Jodhpur Railway, Jodhpur	Ditto
Gham Shyam Das Waid Superintendent, Central Jail, Bikaner	"
Mr Madan Mohan, retired Superintendent, Commissioner's Office Ajmer	1st February 1935
Pandit Damodar Rao Tripathi, Head Clerk, Selection Grade,	11th Dec 1934
" " " "	"
" " " "	"
" " " "	"
Bharatpur State	"

26—**RAO SAHIB**

Thakur Partap Singh Istimardar of Deogaon, Baghera	1st Jan 1935
Dr Vidhya Shanker, Chief Medical Officer, Kotah State	1st Jan 1935
" " " "	1st Jan 1935
" " " "	1st Jan 1935
" " " "	1st Jan 1935
Kishengarh	"
Maharaj Lachhman Singh, Ajmer Merwara, Inspector-General of Police, Mewar State	1st Jan 1935
Thakur Shivdan Singh, Deputy Comptroller of the House, B Branch, Bikaner	1st Jan 1935
Kanwar Fateh Singh Offg Jailor, Central Jail, Ajmer	1st Jan 1935
Lala Kesarsingh, B A, LL B, Chief Member of Council, Kishengarh	"
Mr Laxman Ganesh Sathe, M.A, Senior Asstt. Master, Mayo College (Rtd), Principal, Noble School, Jaipur State	1st Jan 1935
Thakur Gulab Singh Budesingh Parmar of Palsana, State	1st Jan 1935

PART XVIII—contd.**Honours, Rewards and Titles—contd.****28.—SARDAR BAHADUR.****First Class Order of British India (O.B.I.).**

Brig.-Genl. Natha Singh, C.I.E., O.B.E., Alwar	1st Mar. 1906.
Lt.-Col. Girdhar Singh, C.I.E., Bharatpur	16th Dec. 1911.
Major-Genl. Thakur Jeoraj Singhji of Sandwa, C.B.E., Retd. Master of Ceremonies, Bikaner.	27th July 1917.
Lieut.-Col. Thakur Moti Singhji, I.D.S.M., Bikaner Ganga Risala (Retired).	28th June 1919.
Lieut.-Col. Gurbakhsh Singh, Bikaner Sadul Light Infantry (Retired).	16th April 1920.
Rao Bahadur Col. Thakur Balu Singh, I.D.S.M., Comman- dant, Sadul Light Infantry, Bikaner.	3rd June 1927.
Lt.-Col. Kishan Singh Bohra, O.B.I., I.O.M., Bhupal Infantry, Mewar State Forces, Udaipur.	1st Jan. 1931.
Lieut.-Col. Aman Singh, I.O.M.	2nd Nov. 1928.
Subedar Major Surji, late Mewar Bhil Corps	17th Oct. 1929.
Col. Pooran Singh Bahadur, O.B.I., Commandant, Garrison Force, Alwar.	1st Jan. 1933.
Col. Jaideo Singh, Chief of the Staff, Bikaner State Force and Commandant, Bikaner Bijey Battery, Bikaner.	11th May 1937.

**Second Class Order of British India with the title of Bahadur
(O.B.I.).**

Captain Kallan Singh, I.S.I., Bharatpur (Retd.)	28th April 1917.
Aman Singh, I.O.M.	20th April 1917.
Major Narain Singh, Sardar Bahadur	} For Field Service. {
of Bharatpur.	
Lieut.-Col. Abbas Hussain, late Commandant, Mangal Lancers, Alwar.	1st June 1918.
Squadron Commander Panai Singh, 1st Jodhpur Lancers (for Field Service).	3rd June 1918.
Major Thakur Hukam Singh, I.D.S.M., Commandant, Transport Corps, Jaipur.	20th July 1918.
Major Tota Ram Singh, Bharatpur	Ditto.
Lieut. Udai Singh, Jodhpur Sardar Risala	3rd June 1922.
Major Jawahir Singh, Off. Commandant, Bikaner Sadul Light Infantry.	1st Jan. 1923.
Subedar-Major Surji, Mewar Bhil Corps	4th June 1924.
Major Lakhi Ram, Jaipur Infantry	18th July 1924.
Lt.-Col. Sansar Chand, I.D.S.M., Commandant, Jey Paltan, Alwar.	13th Nov. 1932.
Major Johri Singh, I.D.S.M., Bikaner Ganga Risala	1st Jan. 1933.

	Date of grant
PART XVIII—concl'd.	
Honours, Rewards and Titles—concl'd.	
28—SARDAR BAHADUR—cont'd	
1. Sardar Bahadur, Commandant, Sardar Bahadur, Bikaner	3rd June 1935
	Ditto
	12th May 1937
29—FOREIGN DECORATIONS.	
Italian Silver Medal for Military Valour.	
Order of the Crown of Italy (Cavalleri).	
Russian St. George's Medal, 4th Class.	
1. Nana Singh, Bharatpur (Retd)	
Order of the Nile, 4th Class.	
2. Col Zulfikar Ali, late Commandant, Alwar Infantry	12th June 1917.
3. Late Nana Singh, 4th Class	28th Sep 1916.
	Ditto
	(Gold Medal)
1005, Havildar Chhag Singh, Ganga Risala, Bikaner	29th Sep 1916
White Eagle, 4th Class, bestowed by the King of Servia.	
4. General Thakur Jeoraj Singhji, Sardar Bahadur, O.B.E., late Commandant, Ganga Risala, Bikaner	23rd Sep 1916
5. Poran Singh, O.B.I., Commandant, Garrison Force, Alwar	28th Sep 1916
6. Chhag Singh, Havildar, No 1005, Bikaner State Forces	29th Sep 1916.
The Star of Nepal, 3rd Class	
7. Major R. C. Duncan, M.V.O., O.B.E., Military Adviser and Military Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur.	31st Jan 1936.
Servian Gold Medal.	
8. Singh, late No 1050, Sepoy, Ganga Risala, Bikaner	23rd Sep 1916.
9. Havildar Jassu Singh, No 955, Ganga Risala, Bikaner	Ditto
Servian Silver Medal.	
10. Late Nank Hukum Singh, Ganga Risala, Bikaner	23rd Sep 1916.
30—DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS.	
1. A. W. Robertson, I. P., Dewan, Bundi State	June 1918.

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